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JPRS Report

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JPRS-EER-87-122
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EAST EUROPE

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U.S. ACCUSED OF PREPARATIONS FOR BIOLOGICAL WARFARE

Prague TRIBUNA in Czech 13 May 87 p 13

[Article by Jindrich Novotny: "Where Death Bacilli Are Grown"]

[Text] In the early weeks of this year there was an interesting program on Spanish television. The guest was a former employee of the American Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), who asserted that the United States continues to develop more sophisticated bacteriological weapons. He further asserted that they are testing these weapons on people.

These extensive experiments with highly dangerous viruses are being conducted at Fort Detrick in the state of Maryland and at the Dugway Proving Ground in Utah. The former CIA agent also stated that he personally received orders to spread lethal bacteria and viruses in certain Latin American countries. His responsibilities included inventing and spreading lies that the Soviet Union was responsible for the use of bacteriological weapons.

The Heritage of War Criminals

The Americans began to develop these weapons in earnest immediately after World War II. At that time, just after the defeat of Hitler's Germany and militaristic Japan, the U.S. got a hold of the "findings" of German and Japanese "researchers". These people barbarously tormented prisoners in concentration camps during experiments with chemical substances and micro-organisms causing, for instance, malaria, anthrax, plague, cholera, and intestinal typhus. The related materials and even the "experts" made their way to the United States with no problem under the protection of the U.S. Secret Service. Important information on the development of bacteriological (biological) weapons that had previously existed in the land of therrising sun became the basis for new developmental work and the later mass production of bacteriological and chemical weapons. The Japanese were not at that time brought to justice, despite the proven fact that they had conducted many of these outrageous experiments on American prisoners of war...

The data on German and Japanese biological weapons was categorized and assembled at Fort Detrick. Then, in the early 1950s construction began at Pine Bluff, Arkansas on facilities to manufacture them. In addition there are

large factories at Pine Bluff for the production of chemical weapons. Bacteriological weapons were developed, produced, and also tested. It later became public that between 1950 and 1969 units of the American army conducted more than 200 tests of bacteriological weapons in its own country.

Experiments on People

We will cite here several instances uncovered by the American press that show that dangerous experiments were conducted not only behind safe walls of secret laboratories and in wide open, closely guarded spaces, but right in the middle of North American cities. In 1950, for instance, a mysterious flu epidemic broke out in San Francisco. The illness affected mainly older people, and one person at least died. In other words, the American army conducted an experiment with microorganisms "in free space" right in the middle of a densely populated city. There is adequate documentation of this case, which had to be forced into the open in the late 1970s under public pressure. THE NEW YORK TIMES even found out that similar tests were conducted in Florida.

One year later the Mechanicsburg Naval Arsenal in Pennsylvania was the site of the growth of a fungus that caused feverishness. Blacks reacted exceptionally sensitively to this organism and often had their lives threatened by it.

In the mid-1950s many young people started to die in southern Florida, at first from unknown causes. Years later it was learned that the "sunshine state" had been the site of experiments with the "cough bacillus". Around Tampa alone, 12 young people lost their lives. There were a total of 1,080 cases of illness. The cough bacillus also came from Fort Detrick.

In 1964-1965 the army again conducted experiments, the goal of which was to ascertain how rapidly in a bacteriological war epidemics of, for instance, smallpox, could be spread. The soldiers who at that time had exchanged their uniforms for civilian clothes during the experiments secretly spread at National Airport in Washington and at the bus station of this metropolis bacteria, using a special installation apparatus located in their suitcases. The American Ministry of Defense later vehemently denied the assertion by stating that the bacteria were "harmless". Representatives of the Church of Scientology, which obtained documents concerning these experiments, announced that the bacteria had caused acute upper respiratory infections and blood poisoning. The final report on the experiments stated that smallpox bacteria spread in a similar fashion could shortly cause an epidemic in 200 American cities.

In Conflict with International Conventions

Under heavy pressure from domestic and world public opinion the United States later was forced, in accordance with an international agreement, to stop the development of bacteriological weapons. In a move typical of the United States, however, the experiments continued. Documents assembled by the American Congress revealed that CIA stocks of bacteriological weapons included sources of dangerous diseases such as anthrax, black smallpox, tularemia, etc. This all came to light in 1975, i.e. only three years after

Washington signed a convention forbidding the development, production and stockpiling of bacteriological (biological) weapons and their destruction.

By signing this convention the United States accepted the conditions of this ban on bacteriological weapons, but the experiments continued on nevertheless. Let us cite some other examples. In 1978 representatives of the American Indian Movement and the American organization for protection of human rights made a public complaint. The Indian elders showed official results of experiments in which native Americans of age and under age were forced in jails and at clinics to take part in inhuman experiments. In some cases the experiments ended even in death. The same year it became known that organisms had been released at 92 locations in the U.S. which were capable of making its victims fatally ill. The full scope of these scandalous acts will never be learned, however, because the CIA has taken pains to hide all the documents that will document these instances.

Two years later, an article in THE NEW YORK TIMES alleges, the American army sprayed the subway with bacteria without the knowledge of the general public. The goal of this "large exercise" was to make the domestic population immune. The result? One dead and at least 12 seriously ill.

These were clearly not any kind of "games": the use of bacteriological weapons at some point was assumed. For years already articles in the American press had noted that during the Korean war biological weapons had been prepared for use, even against China. During the American aggression in Indochina the United States maintained large stocks of biological weapons on Thai soil.

Bacteriological Diversion Against Cuba

At one time the foreign press wrote extensively about how the United States had used bacteriological disease agents against Cuba. In 1971, for instance, the African swine plague appeared for the first time in Cuba, where it had never before appeared. The disease affected many facilities and lasted a long time. There were serious losses, as almost 500,000 hogs died. An anonymous source, allegedly from the CIA Central, later informed the paper NEWSDAY that he had received a test tube containing a virus. This was transported on a fishing boat to agents operating illegally in Cuba. Nine years later there was another epidemic of swine plague in which 170,000 animals died. Noted experts stated that there could be no other explanation for an outbreak of such a large epidemic than it being a diversionary action.

The affair did not end with swine plague. In 1972 a fungal disease of sugar cane "suddenly" appeared, and a similar disease also "suddenly" affected tobacco plantations. Tobacco is an important export crop for Cuba. In 1981 Cuba was affected by a large epidemic of a serious bleeding fever, which infected thousands of people and resulted in 156 deaths, including 99 children. Cuban experts, in conjunction with foreign physicians, studied the causes of this epidemic and came to a clear conclusion; the virus causing this fever, dengue fever, was not from Cuba. It was intentionally brought there not from some Central American country, Caribbean area, or Africa, as American propaganda tried so hard to demonstrate. These areas had completely different

strains of this virus. In addition, when this epidemic broke out in Cuba this disease was not active in either Africa or Southeast Asia, where the disease normally occurs. In the same year, before Cuba had recovered from the dengue fever epidemic there was another "mysterious" outbreak of bleeding conjunctivitis....

Secret Arsenals of the Pentagon

Official research activities in the USA are conducted under the heading of "defense research". About 4,000 experts work at Fort Detrick, with an operating budget of about 20 million dollars. Recently it was announced in the press that construction had begun at the Dugway facility on a special laboratory for bacteriological aerosols. In this fiscal year alone 1.4 million dollars will be spent on its construction. Information that has been made public indicates that the main task of the center will be research on particularly dangerous aerosol, biological agents. These include sources of serious illnesses such as the Lassov and Evoleov fevers or the Marburg virus. The American Democratic senator James Sasser has stated that the laboratory at Dugway is specially designated for research on biological and toxic weapons forbidden by the 1972 convention.

In the USA there is open talk of increasing the military importance of bacteriological (biological) weapons. According to THE WASHINGTON POST, Department of Defense employee Douglas Faith stated last year in August that "bacteriological weapons, produced by the most modern equipment can be of exceptional military significance. We have changed our opinion of the military applications of bacteriological weapons.... Our position now is that these weapons produced with modern equipment can be of great significance." The WALL STREET JOURNAL, writing about research in this area, stated that in the past five years the amount of resources allocated to these purposes has increased by a factor of 10. Private firms in both the USA and Israel, as well as several American universities, have gotten involved in developing offensive biological weapons.

It is clear that the American militarists are intensifying their military bacteriological program. The wide ranging and dangerous experiments with bacteria and viruses in the poisonous kitchens of the USA are thus continuing.

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INTERVIEW WITH CPCZ'S STEFANAK ON VISIT TO ISRAEL

AU010656 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 12 May 87 p 6

[Interview with Michal Stefanak, head of CPCZ Central Committee's Department of International Affairs who led a CPCZ delegation on a visit to Israel, by Milan Madr: "The Courageous Fight of Israeli Communists"—introductory passage by RUDE PRAVO; date of interview not given]

[Excerpts] A CPCZ delegation which was led by Michal Stefanak, head of CPCZ Central Committee's Department of International Affairs, visited Israel toward the end of April at the invitation of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Israel (CPI). We have asked Comrade Stefanak to share his impressions and knowledge from this trip with the readers of our paper.

[Madr] Contacts between the CPCZ and CPI are lively and very fruitful. They did not stop even when diplomatic relations between the CSSR and Israel were broken off.

[Stefanak] Our delegation's visit to Israel and the results of talks with CPI representatives have become yet another significant event in relations between our two fraternal parties. We were given the opportunity to hold meetings and talks on all levels, from primary organizations to district committees, all the way up to the Central Committee. They were characterized by a friendly, frank, and comradely atmosphere, and by great interest in the CPCZ's life and work. Our positions on topical international issues, and principally on Mideast developments, were expressed in the joint declaration we adopted at the conclusions of the visit. During our meeting with Comrade Meir Vilner, CPI Central Committee secretary general, we stated with gratification that the contacts between our parties are developing positively, and we expressed our joint resolve to continue deepening and strengthening these contacts for the benefit of the CSSR and Israeli people and in the interests of peace and progress in the world.

[Madr] What can you say about the CPI's role in the country's political life, and about its activity in light of what your delegation learned in various places, such as Tel Aviv and Nazareth?

[Stefanak] As I have already said, we had talks with the party aktiv during meetings with party organizations on all levels, in Tel Aviv, Haifa, Jerusalem, Akko, and Ibellin. All these meetings made a profound impression on us. Above all, we were able to get a picture of conditions under which the Communists in Israel are currently working; of their life interests; of the results they are achieving; and above all of the difficulties against which they must struggle in their daily activity.

The Israeli authorities are striving in every way to hamper the CPI activities with the aid of antidemocratic measures. From time to time they issue special military regulations, which prevent the communist activists' freedom of movement. Frequently they are required to report to police stations every day. Communists are discriminated against in getting jobs. The authorities resort to police measures which restrict the party's activities. For instance, special military decrees forbid the Arabs who are party members to visit the occupied territories. On these territories it is forbidden to distribute the party's press organ, AL-ITTIHAD and other communist publications. We even encounter those among the ruling circles which demand that the Communist Party be outlawed.

[Madr] During your stay in Israel you also met the representatives of the MAPAM [United Workers Party]. Could you characterize the orientation of this party, and the contents of your talks?

[Stefanak] In Tel Aviv center of MAPAM, we were received with other party representatives, by Dan Wischnitzer, secretary for foreign contacts. In an interesting talk we exchanged views on the topical issues of Middle East development and on the Palestinian issue. The MAPAM representatives were very interested in the development of the CSSR and expressed interest in cooperation with the Czechoslovak organizations.

MAPAM recognizes the fact that an international conference on the Middle East is inevitable, because the participation of the international community in the solution of the Middle East problem would guarantee security for everyone including Israel. MAPAM also proceeds from the realistic premise that no lasting peace can be achieved in that area without USSR and Palestinian participation. MAPAM divides Israeli society into a right wing, which wants to annex occupied Arab territories forever, and the labor movement, which also encompasses MAPAM and which is in favor of a political solution and favors the so-called territorial compromise. MAPAM realizes that the occupation of Arab territories represents a great danger for Israeli society. Of course, certain of MAPAM's stands are far from realistic; but some of its realistic views indicate that it could become the Communists' ally in the fight against the fascist danger in Israeli society.

[Madr] Your talk in the International Center for Peace in the Middle East in Tel Aviv was undoubtedly very interesting.

[Stefanak] The talk in the Center really was interesting; and I think that it has paved the way for certain incentives on both sides.

The Center's representatives showed great interest in our views on Middle East problems and in happenings in Czechoslovakia. They also showed interest in the possibilities of contacts with the Czechoslovak Peace Committee.

It was interesting to hear about a peaceful solution to the Arab-Israeli conflict from the representatives of the Center--however, it is deplorable that the reality is rather different. While we were talking about peace in the area, Israeli fighter planes were dropping bombs on villages in southern Lebanon and on Palestinian camps, and the Israeli occupation forces were continuing their terror and reprisals against the population on the western banks of the River Jordan and in the Gaza Strip.

But although the views of the representatives in the Center were in some cases rather far from our own ideas, we agreed that no military solution to the Arab-Israeli conflict exists, that one must look for peaceful ways to settle it, and that it is above all necessary to resolve the Palestinian issue. And for this they, too, must prepare and influence Jewish public opinion.

[Madr] Speaking of public opinion, does the majority of the Israeli public and Israeli political circles think of the possibility of achieving a peaceful solution to the Middle East conflict, including, of course, the Palestinian issue and the convening of an international conference?

[Stefanak] Although television, radio, and the press mostly keep quiet about communists' positions, proposals, and actions, the voices of realism nevertheless penetrate to the public thanks to the efforts of the CPI's press organs. The slogans and proposals for a long time formulated solely by the CPI are beginning to gain support from other forces too. For instance, the term "national rights of the Palestinian people" was considered for a very long time purely communist terminology. Today, however, increasingly broad circles are recognizing that this problem has to be solved and are speaking of the "Palestinian people's right to self-determination." The same can be said about the war in Lebanon; at the beginning it was only the CPI and the Democratic Front which sharply criticized it, but soon a similar stand was adopted by the representatives of various circles in the legislature and outside it. This has substantially influenced the thinking and demands of a large part of the Israeli society.

For the first time in Israeli history, a mass antiwar movement has developed in the country. Hundreds of thousands of Israelis--Jews and Arabs, and even soldiers and officers who had refused to do military services--showed their opposition to aggression against Lebanon at rallies in Tel Aviv and other cities. It is a positive thing that people in Israel increasingly realize that the aggressive policy of ruling Israeli circles is not really in the national interest and that it primarily serves U.S. strategic aims. Similarly, an increasing number of members of Israeli society realize that a really permanent solution to the acute Middle East problem is feasible solely with the participation of all interested parties, including the PLO.

[Madr] Obviously, during its stay in the country the delegation was asked under what conditions the CSSR is willing to renew diplomatic relations with Israel. It is known that these relations were broken off in 1967, in protest against Israeli aggression and against its occupation of Arab territories. What did you answer?

[Stefanak] In our talks with the representatives of Jewish organizations, we were aware of this question, though it was not always voiced. In explaining our position on the problems of Middle East settlement, we unambiguously showed that the path toward renewing diplomatic contacts with Israel can be reached by removing the basic reasons for their having been broken off--that is, by Israel's withdrawal from the Arab territories occupied during the 1967 War, and by the adoption of a realistic stand on Middle East settlement, which would guarantee a just solution of the Palestinian issue and the security of all states in the area, including Israel, and also their right to live a safe, peaceful life.

/8309
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RESTRUCTURING IN SOCIAL SCIENCES VIEWED

AU071421 Prague NOVA MYSL No 6, (June 1987) in Czech and Slovak, signed to press 4 May 1987, pp 3-14

[Article by Dr. Vladimir Kunovjanek, Candidate of Sciences, head of the CPCZ Central Committee's Department of Social Sciences, Prague: "On Issues of Restructuring in Social Sciences"—the article is written in Czech]

[Excerpt] When studying the contemporary Soviet documents and theoretical treatises, a logical question crops up as to what extent are our problems identical with the Soviet problems, and in what respect—to a lesser or greater extent—they possibly differ. Of late, we have been coming across a specific sort of verbal or mechanical "taking over" of the restructuring—they are doing it in the Soviet Union, and therefore it is in order that we too start doing it.

However, there are those talking about restructuring—sometimes very loudly—who have been standing at the head of the social science fields of study for a long time; not infrequently they have "succeeded" in completely "vacuum-sealing" them ["zakonservovat" je], and now they want, in the "spirit of the times," but without inner conviction, to appear "revolutionary." Whether wittingly or unwittingly, they have played their role in the retardatory processes and trends in the social sciences. At one time, on an external inducement, they "vacuum-sealed" science with their dogmatic precepts and by drawing up pseudoproblems, and now, on an external inducement, they want to "devacuum-seal" it ["odkonzervovat"]. Some of them regard the restructuring to only be a new fashionable wave, of which they experienced and "survived" in the past without getting hurt. Therefore they have "enriched" their customary vocabulary with the term restructuring, without having changed anything as regards their traditional attitudes.

However, people who were also standing on the sidelines at scientific institutes for a long time are beginning to be active. Although no one was preventing them in the past from voicing their opinion, they never came forward with new suggestions. It is necessary to see to it that they do not join the current of restructuring for time-serving reasons.

However, there are also other reasons why restructuring acts as a mirror for many people, reflecting, in particular, the results of their work. In the past, some of them—with the feeling of being wronged—were intimating that they could develop a scientific theory in their discipline had they been allowed to do it [jen kdyby mohli]. The current state of affairs does not suit them—now they can, but it shows that they have nothing to offer.

Also those with whom the party parted ways in the past often want to feed off the restructuring. If they played a significant role in the deformations of the theories whose objective was not the development of socialism, but diluting or disrupting it, we certainly will not abide by their advise today.

However, what is involved is not some sort of compartmentalization or labelling of people who are working in this sphere. There is no doubt that the majority of the people working in the sector of social sciences—both, communists and persons without party affiliation—ask these questions with honest intentions and with the objective to improve the existing state of affairs. Therefore it is possible and necessary to rely on them in the future.

Thus the fundamental thing, with which social sciences in Czechoslovakia must come to grips in the current stage, is the question whether the situation in our sector of social sciences is identical with or similar to that in the USSR, or in which way the development in our country differs from the development in the Soviet Union. Already today it seems beyond a doubt that some simplified schematized notions about socialism and communism, about the individual phases and stages of its development, and such like, have become projected also into our theories and concepts of social sciences.

Under these conditions, the problem of the Czechoslovak social sciences' restructuring has in some respects an identical and in other respects different content than in the USSR. In the first place, it is necessary to seriously answer the question as to which social sciences in our country were affected more in the past and which were affected less by the dogmatic and scholastic manner of study, but, above all, whether incorrect theories have become projected into the concepts of the management of society, into the political, economic, legal, or social sphere.

/8309
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AWARENESS OF HISTORICAL CONTINUITY STRESSED

Prague ZIVOT STRANY in Czech No 9, 1987 pp 47-48

[Article by Antonin Robek: "The Task of Historical Awareness in the Life of Socialist Society"]

[Excerpts] The 27th CPSU Congress, the materials presented in the addresses made after the Congress by the foremost representatives of the CPSU, and the 17th CPCZ Congress most seriously underscored the importance of historical awareness of our socialist society and the significance of cultivating historical awareness particularly among the young generation.

Historical awareness is a very essential part of the consciousness of the socialist man because it enables him not only to understand the task of his time--and himself--in the historical process, but also the fact that our current socialist era, with its positive and negative aspects, is the outcome of long years of social progress, that the historical development cannot be skipped, and that the past must be overcome, however difficult task that may be. It enables man to understand that in certain stages of history our current society fulfills the goals and hopes of the preceding generations whose struggles and organizational programs (especially in the workers' movement) helped establish that society. Certain goals of the old society have been fulfilled--the right to work, education, free medical care, old-age pension, and many other privileges of socialism--so that people nowadays consider them matter of fact. On the other hand, historical awareness makes it possible to understand the new objectives which in fact are historically unavoidable tasks of the socialist society and of its communist party, and the historical task of every individual. It sets before us examples from the past which encourage everyone who is coping with difficult current problems and give us revolutionary boldness and optimism that the workers' movement and its communist leaders had never lost even at the most crucial moments and in the most critical situations.

What is the source of the great power of history and of historical awareness?

People want to know the history of their country and of their nation; they want to know the links of the past with the present. He who does not know the past of his nation, of his class and of the workers' movement--in other words, of his socialist society--cannot properly and correctly understand and appreciate his own situation; he lacks a proper perspective of the development and

of its revolutionary movement; he sees neither the advantages of our time, nor the obstacles of the past that are hampering our progress at present, and he cannot learn how to relinquish and overcome the past in ourselves.

The bourgeoisie which realized precisely these facts very well wanted to use history to demonstrate that bourgeois ideas (as, for example, private ownership, state, democracy) are its exclusive domain, that socialism is actually, an error of history, an aberration, etc. It adopted the mottoes of the great bourgeois revolutions, not to fulfill them but to exploit them in order to deceive great masses of mankind.

In the current ideological struggle it is imperialism that is trying to destroy the historical links with modern socialist society, to weaken the revolutionary significance of history and of prominent historical personalities, and to create a kind of anti-history.

That does not mean that the study of the problems of history, the cultural history, the way of life and culture of national masses, teaches nothing but the past; it is very relevant for the future and for the present as well. Occasionally some ideas formulate the relation to history in a negative way. Enough of the past, the present era must be studied. With no intention to underestimate the study of the present, it must be said that history must examine the whole past and address the present through historical awareness, as confirmed by the above example. Without national memory and without the memory of the workers' class it would not be possible to outline responsibly the tasks for the future and to comprehend the historical relevance of our time and of the processes which we are entering now and which will have a long-term effect. Therefore, a comprehensive development of man as a social being presupposes the ability to recognize social laws of goals that may be achieved and of pitfalls that must be avoided. Historical awareness leads to an active social life--to a mature program of people who are also aware of dialectic conflicts.

The study of historical awareness and its formation pre^s above all the necessary heuristic program, because historical awarene^s . . . be based on myths or lies. Central scientific institutes and universities serve that purpose; moreover, in every district we have a center dedicated to the research of regional problems, museums, archives, galleries, memorial halls (now also in enterprises and JZD's [unified agricultural cooperatives]), commissions for the CPCZ's regional history, teams of experts preparing numerous publications from both distant and recent history of our villages, settlements, towns, prominent personalities, etc.

Culture, literature, theatre and arts foster historical awareness (there is no district in our country without some outstanding landmark of national importance, etc.). Every district publishes great amount of regional literature; museums, galleries and local publications focus on historical topics. Thus, the ground for the socialist development of historical awareness has been prepared, although--and we must bear this fact in mind--we are not using these opportunities in a very intensive and effective way, especially when it concerns our young people. History does not tolerate dogmatic, schematic lecturing, oversimplification, and for example, silence about the negative phenomena.

If we oversimplify the interpretation of history and if we keep silent about various events, we must realize that the people who remember will not trust such interpretations and will regard them as a fraud or a "political whitewash." At the first glance it may seem more opportune and understandable to see everything in black and white, but the opposite is true. Neither our young people nor our older generation will believe any schematic, simplistic interpretation.

In addition to the above-mentioned institutions, the school should exert considerable influence on the development of historical awareness, above all by the teachers' convincing words and example. Many young people get interested in archeology having witnessed, for instance, archeological excavation; many of them will become interested in history, if they see with their own eyes a historical document, artifact or a scroll, or if they can hear an eyewitness to this or that event who does not conceal anything about that time and who does not try to force historical data to fit preconceived theses. Young people born in socialism may find it difficult to understand, for instance, the depression of 1930's and the feelings of the unemployed, because in fact they cannot compare them with their own experience. If we use cliches and hackneyed allegations about the hunger, poverty and despair of the unemployed, we actually tell modern man nothing about those hard times. Not even hundreds of thousands of unemployed can tell him anything. In order to comprehend such socially dangerous phenomena he must get acquainted with specific experiences of an eyewitness. Nothing must be concealed, not even the strike-breakers, the undeniable heavy pressures exerted by the families--the urging of desperate wives--and also the devices of corruption that to us may seem so petty and insignificant, but which meant much at that time.

Workers' solidarity was a very hard-won virtue paid for by the suffering and reproaches of hungry family members. It was not easy to go on strike; it was not easy for the unemployed to demonstrate, and victory was won only seldom. It must be shown that the position of the communists' party and of its members was difficult not only in material terms, but above all, because not everybody trusted them, wanted to join them, or could follow the party and its members. In the same way, the period of the Nazi occupation was not at all easy; some people were of little faith and of little courage; some collaborated with the enemy for a piece of bread, for little money or for promises. There were the brave individuals who could not fight against the crafty enemy, and those who fought ineffectively. Yet they were there and they opposed the powerful foe as best they could, often with no hope of success. Of course, they kept their faith--the "coal-miners' faith" of which [Julius] Fucik spoke--in the workers' class, in the party, and in the USSR.

A major role in the development of our society's historical awareness is played by the shared experience of previous generations: of the generation that witnessed our party's struggle during the first republic, of the people who participated in the fight against fascism, and of the generation that took an active part in the events of February 1948 and in the post-February efforts to build socialism in our country. The concerns and care for the development of our socialist society's historical awareness, especially among our young generation, has its particular social significance which must never be underestimated.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

POLITICAL

BRIEFS

INTERNATIONAL JOURNALISTS' APPEAL—The first session of the Committee for Issues of Peace and Disarmament of the International Organization of Journalists ended in Prague. The committee appealed to journalists' organizations throughout the world to support the campaign to declare 27 October the International Day of the Journalists' Fight for Peace. [Text] [Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 23 Jun 87 p 2 AU] /8309

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ACADEMICS, ACTIVISTS DISCUSS PLURALISM CONCEPT

Warsaw PRAWO I ZYCIE in Polish No 2, 10 Jan 87 pp 3, 4

[Roundtable discussion between Professor Wladyslaw Markiewicz, vice-chairman of the Polish Academy of Sciences, Professor Jerzy Wiatr, Professor Janusz Reykowski, member of the Executive Committee of the PRON National Council, Professor Stanislaw Ehrlich, author of the book "Face of Pluralism", and others, by Roman Krzakowski: "Pluralism Gives Birth to Conflict"]

[Text] "By its very nature, youth is pluralistic and this seems to be almost unavoidable. Under our country's specific conditions, that which we youth are allowed to do is less controlled or pluralistic while the rest is determined. I really do not know what we can discuss here".

That statement was made by one of the participants to a discussion at the Young Generation's Forum at the PRON National Council on 22 December of last year. The subject of the meeting was "Polish socialist pluralism -- what is it and what can it be?". The discussion was chaired by Jerzy Jaskiernia, secretary of the PRON National Council. We have selected the more interesting portions (which have not been authorized) from this not-too turbulent exchange of views.

[Professor Wladyslaw Markiewicz, vice-chairman of the Polish Academy of Sciences] Until recently, pluralism under socialism was regarded as something dangerous and harmful. The emotional associations roused by this word were and still remain largely negative. It is just the opposite in the so-called western democracies where they try to give the word a positive meaning.

Like uniformism, pluralism must have its limits defined by the public interest. Whenever the public interest is transgressed, it can have unwanted and unexpected effects. A specific example of this is the Weimar Republic which was pluralistic, perhaps too much so, and therefore laid the groundwork for nazism. This government was so pluralistic that it caused the demoralization of the state system and opened the way for a system that was the very antithesis of pluralism.

[Miroslaw Kozinski of Katowice] Pluralism starts at the bottom with man's attitude to man. If we treat another person as an object or make him to conform to our own ideas, this is not pluralism. If, on the other hand, we allow others the right to be different and hold their own views, we have a basic pluralism from which political pluralism can grow. In any other case, we will just have political groups of uniformists from which everyone will try to make a society according to their own views while rejecting the views of all others.

[A sociologist] The discussion so far has shown that we recognize pluralism only outside of Marxism. I would like to ask whether the concepts of diversity and pluralism cannot be found in Marxist theory.

[Professor Jerzy J. Wiatr] Although not many Marxists wish to admit this, in Marxism itself, we have a variety of interpretations. It is often the case that when one Marxist disagrees with another, he says: "He is not a Marxist". He therefore maintains that Marxism does not recognize any internal differences. Of course, that is a view that is at best only naive.

From the dawn of Marxism, there have been two mainstreams of thought. One is deterministic and places greater emphasis on making history subordinate to certain iron laws. The other is activistic and states that history is created by people. Therefore, there do exist differences within Marxism. This is a desirable thing for Marxism and for any other theory that does not want to become locked away in a library and desiring to change history and human awareness. However, the one condition is that all of these differences of opinion relate to each other in a pluralistic manner and acknowledge that they all have something to teach. We sometimes see a paradoxical situation in which some Marxists are all in favor of a dialogue with Catholics but God forbid they should meet another Marxist with different views! Their tolerance then disappears in the wink of an eye.

In conclusion, a contest between views is beneficial to the development of thought, better practice and brings people closer to the truth. No one position has or will ever have a monopoly on the truth and there will always be someone who can add something new.

[Senior participant] Professor Markiewicz gave us the example of Germany where pluralism had a sad result. Why is no one mentioning Japan, where, as Professor Wiatr has written, there exists an entire range of parties from the extreme left to the extreme right and where the good economic results are all well known?

[Professor Janusz Reykowski, member of the PRON National Council's Executive Committee] Pluralism is closely associated with the feeling for liberty which is especially strong in Poland and should therefore have many supporters here. I am therefore surprised that the subject has not aroused lively and stormy discussion in this chamber.

I would like to point out two aspects of the problem. The first is the connection between the degree of democracy and the economic situation. Studies conducted during the 1960's and 1970's in 50 different countries have suggested that there is more democracy in times of economic sometimes and less in times of economic depression. The second problem is the equality of different views under pluralism. In the United States, some groups are demanding that the schools start teaching creationism, a theory directly opposed to evolutionism and one which attaches a literal interpretation to the Bible's teachings on the origins and development of life. Can both of these theories enjoy equal rights under pluralism? The material taught in schools should be based on science and other views can be propagated outside of the walls of the schools.

[Jacek Mlynarski, young Catholic activist] As Catholicism sees it, it is good for all of us to limit pluralism. If one is to not lose his creative abilities, it is necessary to be prepared for pluralism. Hitler's seizing of power in Germany or the year 1926 in Poland attest to the bad sides of pluralism and society's unreadiness for it.

[Janusz Stefaniak, member of the Union of Polish Socialist Youth at the Main School of Planning and Statistics] Pluralism would be harmful for Poland. For example, the existence of two youth organizations (the Union of Polish Socialist Youth and the Rural Youth Union) in rural areas sometimes causes unhealthy rivalry that hinder the achievement of anything positive.

[Senior participant] As an old scouting activist, I would like to point out that we have already been through a period in which the youth movement was united and this was a period of extreme uniformism in general. Now we are in a transitional period. At a meeting with members of the Consultative Council, General Jaruzelski said that we have fortunately learned that differences of opinion are natural and even necessary. Of course, diversity is necessary to growth and the basis for progress.

[Wojciech Roszewski] Pluralism today is a loaded word. After all, one can see how personalities from social and cultural life have changed their masks in different historical situations. Someone said that our society wants pluralism. This is the same as saying that we do not have pluralism and that this is the fault of a government that blocks progress. Everyone stands in awe of pluralism, especially its most fervent advocates, because they fear the pluralism of others.

This is our situation: we must discuss pluralism but at the same time see just what it really means and not for reasons of repression but rather to know it better.

[Boguslaw Kowalski of Warsaw University] Pluralism is a concept that is very favorably received. However, in my opinion, it is also a concept close to another one and that is anarchy. How then can we have pluralism without falling into anarchy?

[Professor J. Reykowski] Pluralism is supposed to remove restraints on human activity and creativity. The more a person grows, the greater their tendency to self-realization. The more educated a society becomes, the stronger its drive for pluralism. At the same time, however, there is a danger of social destabilization. The key questions here are how we are to remove these restraints, realize human rights and prevent destabilization.

[Professor Andrzej Stelmachowski, Catholic activist] Pluralism makes itself felt in 5 areas: the ideological, political, social, cultural and the economic. Social pluralism causes the most debate and this is where monism is most often challenged.

Pluralism naturally leads to progress and changes. The exception to this is the caste system in India which is harmful. With certain exceptions, uniformism brings stagnation. If we are therefore in favor of changes and progress, we are also for pluralism.

I was alarmed by the statement for unifying the youth movement. In defenses of magisterial theses, I have often heard the same opinion about other areas of life. People ask why we should have 7 tourist organizations when one is enough or why there are two rural cooperatives. Have we not become instinctive uniformists?

I am not afraid of the risks of pluralism but I do fear the stagnation of uniformism.

[Stanislaw Glazur, PAX activist] Diversity is not a problem but an enrichment. Difficulties appear when we are unable to make use of this wealth or lack the right concepts.

With regard to anarchy, one cannot be against nuclear power plants because they sometimes have accidents. One must know that this does happen and act to prevent it.

[Professor Stanislaw Ehrlich, author of the book "The Face of Pluralism"] Most of society supports pluralism but they do so without knowing how to solve the problems. They see it in terms of either pluralism or uniformism. However, experience shows that these two philosophies overlap as much as do centralism and decentralism.

We were warned about masks but we have not come to attend a masked ball. I came without a mask and will leave without one. And I am certainly not the only one. Such allusions do not at all foster a sincere exchange of views.

There was also some mention of the need to search for the origins of pluralism but this is nothing difficult. Every person is different from the next and whatever he creates must also be different.

Pluralism and conflicts. Pluralism gives rise to conflicts and must indeed do so. Conflicts arise because people are different. If everyone were the same, there would be no conflicts. It is a gross misunderstanding and obvious vulgarization of Marxism to say that we are building a conflict-free society and that a socialist society has no conflicts. This pseudomarxist verbalism has nothing in common with science. There is only the question of limits, the limits of pluralism and the limits of conflict. These are limits that cannot be crossed if the unavoidable conflicts necessary to growth are not to become destructive conflicts.

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WARSAW PZPR MEETING ON INCREASED PARTY EFFICIENCY

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 22 May 87 p 7

[Excerpt] Every POP member must answer for himself the question about the place of the party in a community, methods to implement its managerial role, and the effects of activity in this direction. Enforcement of this role on every level is necessary and of more consequence than hitherto.

Such formulations, among others, were repeated during discussions on the subject, "The 10th Congress on consolidation of the leading and guiding role of the party, its tasks in the development of democracy, and consolidation of the socialist state." This subject is discussed at instructional meetings in the Warsaw basal organizations. The course of these meetings was evaluated yesterday, 21 May, at a meeting of the PZPR Warsaw Committee executive board.

Among other things, attention was called to the subject of local economic-wage problems almost regularly accompanying the main subject during instructional meetings. On one hand, this is a sign of our current everyday life, a reflection of the economic difficulties with which Poland is struggling. But also it is a sign of the lack of party discipline and lack of results in implementing tasks undertaken which too often also have repercussions on other areas of party, trade, and social activity.

Directly connected with this is the lack of criticism and self-criticism, and a debilitating anticipation of gains from meetings and instruction sessions. Measures for increasing party discipline in the system of schooling were written into the proposals from the meeting.

Participating in this part of the conference were secretaries from a dozen or so basal party organizations which already had held meetings on consolidating the party's managerial role. Reflections from the guests were very helpful in delineating proposals. Among other things they called attention to the need for closely connecting an instructional subject with the realities of the local environment. It is necessary to stress other aspects during discussion of the party's managerial role with teachers whose task, and also the party's, is in the front rank of education, and still others with workers in industrial establishments.

The second half of the meeting was devoted to analysis of performance in the annual provincial plan for 1986.

...The executive board, meeting under the leadership of Janusz Kubasiewicz, deputy Political Office member and PZPR Provincial Committee first secretary, also learned of party actions concerning consolidation of moral health and combatting social pathology in the province last year.

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PZPR OFFICIAL CLAIMS DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS IGNORED

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 26 May 87 p 8

[Article by Stefan Lyczak, First Secretary of the PZPR Voivodship Committee in Chelm]

[Text] Many matters concerning our voivodship reality merit an important name. But most important for me is the need to overcome comfortable conformity, the science of courageous thought, and joint decisions in matters concerning us all. As for now too often we encounter a situation when a pretentious attitude toward reality accompanies remaining in the shadows and awaiting decisions from higher up which affect our own lives.

For example, economic reform imposed a need for changes in the organization of production in establishments. In Chelm Voivodship 156 brigades work under the brigade labor system, but only in the case of a few have all the obligatory principles in this system been implemented. As is known, it requires good labor organization and a regular supply of raw materials, and so makes greater demands in regard to managerial personnel. We are observing the great caution with which enterprise administrations are implementing the brigade labor system.

The incompetence at living under democracy also troubles me. The public is saturated with all the institutional forms of democratization of life in the state, and we debate the need more successively for appointing a spokesman for civil rights. But the trouble with this is that we will not succeed in profiting from what we already have.

Recently the Chelm Housing Cooperative raised rents significantly and the tenants' reaction was immediate: telephone calls to voivodship administrative channels and administrative authorities with the demand that they investigate the case and bring influence to bear to change the decision. Meanwhile, only a few people attended an organizational meeting called by the cooperative before the increases! The lack of public interest has the effect that the administration has more influence on the election of the boards of trustees of many cooperatives than interested members of the cooperatives. There are complaints everywhere about G. S. [village cooperative] presidents and about the personnel of other cooperatives, but how many personnel changes

do boards of trustees make? These changes usually are accomplished through inspiration from above, and not from the grass roots.

Social passivity can breed arrogant attitudes among managerial personnel, for if something slips out of public control, it arouses a feeling of impunity. On the other hand, expecting decisions from the authorities in all matters, including local ones, must lead to burdening the same authorities with responsibility for everything, and in effect to a division between the public and authority.

In this respect it is much better in the voivodship party organization. Since November 1984 our number of candidates and party members has grown. New organizations are being formed in environments where they didn't exist previously. Many organizations found their place in the organizational system of enterprises. The method of action through party members is becoming more and more visible and efficient. Party organizations value highly the full implementation of their proposals, and with determination closely observe the principles that no personnel change can be handled without their opinions. These opinions usually are positive, which may show the accuracy in selecting a candidate for a given position, but also the lack of boldness in evaluating people. Fortunately we also have fair proposals from the primary organizations on the withdrawal of recommendations.

We are backing the common lesson of democracy, and its mutual implementation in courageous thinking and activity within the framework of existing power. As a channel of authority we don't want to settle things by intervention, especially in those matters which can and should be handled by existing forms of democracy. This is not at all easy, and surely at first it will not bring us glory. But this is as necessary as air. The efficiency of economic activity and the quality of social life depend on it. We cannot step into a blind alley in which democratic principles will become a verbal declaration only because we have not learned to use them.

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PLOCK PZPR SECRETARY ON YOUTH, REFORM, PARTY ROLE**Warsaw SZTANDAR MŁODYCH in Polish 15-17 May 87 p 3**

[Interview with Adam Bartosiak, first secretary of the Plock Provincial PZPR Committee by Romana Kuffel and Kazimierz Treger: "Without Burdens and Responsibilities"]

[Excerpts] Adam Bartosiak was born on 24 July 1945. The present year marks two anniversaries: his 25 years of professional work and his 20th year as a member of the PZPR. At his first place of employment, the M. Nowotko Machine Works in Warsaw, he was recommended for party membership by comrades with whom he has ever since maintained contact. He finished a course of evening classes at the Warsaw Chief School of Agricultural Economics and Agriculture. At the last PZPR party congress, he was elected as a member of the Central Control and Review Commission. He is also a member of the Central Committee Interparty Commission and the International Commission. For four years, he has been the first secretary of the Plock Provincial PZPR Committee.

[Question] Since we are already talking about youth, let me say that a representative of our newspaper was invited to a meeting in Kutno where Secretary Jerzy Wiewiórkowski had also invited young party members with higher educations. The main purpose of the meeting was to find out why young people are unwilling to accept management positions. However, when this question was presented, the meeting hall remained silent and the young people there did not want to say anything about the problem. Can it really be that they do not have any professional aspirations?

[Answer] They have greater ambitions than it would otherwise seem. However, they have not only parted company with the possibilities of the party's personnel policy but also with its principles. The purpose of this meeting was to show them their opportunities and conditions and to stress that whether they are party members or not, they are eyed as young experts with "open" minds. We examine for more than what they achieve at their jobs. We also look at how active they are in youth organizations and in work to streamline work and produce innovations. There remains the problem of getting these people into the personnel reserve. The executive board of the provincial

party committee has twice rejected proposals for a personnel reserve. We came to the conclusion that at least 40 percent of the province's personnel reserve must be party nonmembers. These must be people under 45 years of age who have proved their worth at their jobs for the last 3-5 years. It is important to work with the personnel reserve, send these people to evening colleges of Marxism-Leninism and check their achievements each year by inquiries. We are interested in what the given candidate has done at his job and how efficiently he has worked. If he has not achieved anything, he cannot count on his name or connections. Most young people know that they cannot count on manna from heaven but must look at the work they have done and that they can gain satisfaction from their jobs. I want to point out another problem. A young and outstanding person is praised by all. If he is not praised, on the other hand, he becomes frustrated and starts having problems. We do not have well-developed methods of dividing responsibilities in the schools, the family and at work.

[Question] Maybe the young people at the Kutno meeting were silent because they do not trust the party because in some provinces, the party continues to turn its back on youth. Is this true in Plock province?

[Answer] I do not want to utter lots of sighs and groans because we are far from seeing any such problems in our province. Proper work and cooperation with youth organizations does pay. Last year, the average age of party members dropped by one year. With a provincial party organization of 31,000 members, you can imagine how many young new members we had to receive to lower the average age of our membership by one year while the rest of the membership is aging. In the first quarter of this year, 70.4 percent of our new members were young and 40.5 percent were female. I would therefore deny that young people are not joining the party. There were very many young people among the delegates to the 10th Congress. We can boast of having the youngest Sejm deputies in all of Poland. About 51 percent of the Plock Province delegation to the 2nd PRON Congress were party nonmembers and a considerable number were also young people. I must also remind you of comrades Koszado and Slowikowski, young members of the PZPR Central Committee.

[Question] Is this because the first secretary himself is young?

[Answer] I am no longer so young and one cannot look at the matter in terms of mere age. I can also say that I know indolent 30-year-olds as well as persons in their 60's who are full of life, character and motion. More broadly speaking, I think that youth participation in a province's government, political organizations and management should be at least adequate to the age regions dominant age group. I will not hide the fact that we have succeeded in this although there are still areas that need improvement such as youth participation in the people's councils and supervisory councils, the rural township cooperatives, agricultural circles' cooperatives and the SP in rural areas where it is hard for young people to get involved.

[Question] Why?

[Answer] There are some in stereotypes. One thing about young people is that they are not difficult and they tell you right to your face just what they think. Not everyone likes that and in rural areas, you cannot be anonymous because everyone knows you. When secret balloting is done, a young and "saucy" person will not get anywhere. Since we are talking about personnel issues, then I must without undue courtesy say that the new idea of personnel policy was inspired by the party's first secretary, General Jaruzelski. We are following the party's example.

[Question] You said that young people say just what they think. They also talk about economic reform. Which elements of the first stage of economic reform could not be realized in Plock Province?

[Answer] Our province's economy does not function separately from that of the rest of the country. In evaluating the effects of economic reform so far, it is necessary to stress that we have made considerable progress in many areas. For example, this is true of the process of socializing planning and increasing the powers and financial independence of regional self-government. A great but perhaps insufficient amount of progress has been made in creating more independent, self-financing and self-managing enterprises.

One bad side is the poor progress made in management efficiency which, aside from better productivity, would in many enterprises make itself felt in lower material consumption in production. There has also been little progress in the use of work time and supplies and cooperative production are still not regular. There has been no visible improvement in the quality of many manufactured goods and wages are often unrelated to work results.

[Question] In your opinion, what obstacles will the province face in the realization of the second stage of reform? Why are job certifications so difficult to carry out?

[Answer] Economic processes are also affected by subjective conditions which have their sources in the attitudes of individuals, groups, institutions and organizations. At this time, it is only the directors and activists of certain enterprises that are really aware of the tasks demanded by the second stage of reform and this knowledge has not made its way to the lower management levels not to mention the workers themselves. We must make up for this as quickly as we can. There is also psychosocial resistance to economically necessary actions and enterprises and this resistance not only distorts goals and intentions but also has a negative effect on the attitudes and behavior of some workers. I do not agree with you that job certification is proceeding with difficulty. At the end of last year, a provincial party-government commission under a provincial PZPR committee secretary, Comrade Galaszewski, was organized to do this important job.

This commission directs the process of structure review and job attestation in the province. Within itself, the commission has organized problem sub-groups. The commission and its sub-groups have developed an action program. In March of this year, this task was examined in 75 enterprises of our province and the results showed that all of them were acting in accordance with the Council of Ministers' resolution on job reviews in state enterprises. The experiences of the studied enterprises show how necessary it has become to better organize them and how hard a task that will be without a well-planned campaign or a permanent method of improving work. Enterprises often lack even elementary criteria or patterns to follow.

We are only now coming to the conclusion that the most possible work should be measured normalized and coordinated. In other words, we are returning to the solutions that I remember from the 1960's. At party meetings at places like Petrochemia, I often speak with fondness about 1962 which was when I started work at the Nowotko Machine Works in Warsaw. At 6:00 a.m. I switched on my machine. At 10:00 there was a 15-minute break which no one can extend. At 2:00 p.m. I switched off my machine and began cleaning it up. And what do we see now? I stand with the secretary of the plant PZPR committee at Petrochemia and I see that at 1:53 p.m. people...

[Question] ...are running out to catch the bus.

[Answer] Of course. And if a worker has to walk 3-4 kilometers to get from the power and heating plant to the factory exit, when does he quit work to make his bus on time? No one says anything about such behavior. The rules of the economic game are the same hard ones regardless of whether or not the first phase of economic reform has finished. We can also say that some people are already at the third stage while others still do not even know what the first stage entails.

[Question] Then we must reform people's awareness?

[Answer] Yes. We do that very intensively but the results vary. That is why I also see conservative attitudes among young people. There is nothing worse than that! People at their jobs should have two characteristics: they must do their work without burdens or responsibilities. I try to take such an approach in my work. Today, in my fourth year in this post, neither the one nor the other comes into consideration. And that really makes me happy! People even think it significant that I live in Slubice rather than in Plock.

[Question] Because they might suspect that you became first secretary to get yourself a house.

[Answer] Of course.

[Question] A propos housing -- Plock is one of the worst provinces in Poland in terms of housing construction and this is a matter that has been repeatedly discussed by the provincial PZPR committee's executive board. But we have not

seen any construction results and furthermore, the Plock Construction Complex has recently gone under the administration of a commission.

[Answer] In contrast to other areas of the economy where reform initiated positive changes, housing construction alarms us with its lack of visible progress. Last year, in 39 provinces including ours, the housing construction plan was not fulfilled. I will not talk the causes because everyone already knows them. However, neither do I agree that our province is behind all others in this regard because we fell behind just in 1986. At the same time, the number of new housing units built per thousand head of population was 5.7 in our province while the national average was 5.0. At the same time, last year brought us substantial results in the building up of our infrastructure of schools and business networks. The executive board of the Plock Provincial PZPR Committee has taken a series of steps to improve the functioning of our infrastructure. However, any radical improvement in the situation requires more profound system changes and economic changes. The introduction of commission management of the construction complex is not something that I would attribute to problems in housing construction because this is one of the mechanisms stipulated by economic reform and every enterprise that loses its ability to receive credit may fall under the same provision.

[Question] Much rightful attention has been drawn to the large role that party and technical personnel have in making known the mechanisms of reform. However, what sort of arguments is personnel supposed to use as long as there are shortages of materials. For example, the Kutno Miflex Plant has continual problems importing the foil it needs to make condensers because it cannot use its own foreign currency deductions. A similar situation is being faced by many of the leading enterprises of our province. They cannot use the dollars they have earned. How does this situation affect enterprise independence?

[Answer] We must be aware of the increasingly limited availability of materials. This was confirmed in the economy conditions set by the 1986-1990 National Social and Economic Plan. This situation is especially difficult in plants that use materials imported from the second-payments area and do not export their products to that same area. And that is just the situation faced by the Miflex Plant. I would like to make it clear. The Kutno Miflex Plant does not have its own foreign currency deductions but uses currency limits from central allotments. Such enterprises must wait in line for a credit opening. The other leading enterprises of our province have foreign currency deduction accounts. Since the start of this year, positive changes have been made to the functioning of these accounts. In the country's present payments situation, there has been established a somewhat lower level of these deductions but that guarantees liquid payment of accounts. Proper accounting by means of currency devices requires action to eliminate the costly import of components, the correct extent of production and the regeneration of costly imported spare parts and equipment. I believe in the brutal idea that if there is less material, we must employ fewer people by just keeping the better workers on the payroll.

[Question] Let us change the subject. In Plock Province, what is the relationship between the party and its basic organizations?

[Answer] We, by which I mean the party instances, exist for the basic party organizations [POP]. This explains everything that we do and our philosophy of cooperation. We can argue whether that philosophy is a sufficient one or not. The weaknesses of the POP's are the responsibility of the committee secretaries and all of us. I am really looking forward to the 4th Plenum. Tangible results will to a great extent depend on the first secretaries of the POP's. What are we doing? I think that we are doing a lot but still not everything. Journalists are interested in details, the so-called prose of life. From time to time, we meet the first secretaries of POP's at regional conferences. These meetings with their sharp and sincere exchanges of opinion and the shared setting of tasks show that we are all working together to carry out the party's plans. We have a well-developed system for allotting POF patrons. The party organization has very rich and diverse forms of training to offer the POP's. Having perceived the leading role that the POP's have within the party structure, I attend as many of their meetings as time allows. Prior to the 4th Plenum, I can talk about the cycle of meetings in large and small POP's, in rural and factory POP's, in the north, the south and sometimes even at night. I greatly value the ties I have with the first secretaries of the POP's. We write extensive and sincere letters to one another about the state of the party. There is much more because I am just describing it as briefly as I can. There are still the joint conferences and seminars, the provision of quick and reliable information to basic party echelons and the studies of POP efficiency that we have been conducting since July.

[Question] You are closely connected with agriculture. Let us recall that you were once the first secretary of the Slubice Community PZPR Committee, the chairman of the Community People's Council and then the agricultural secretary for the Plock Provincial PZPR Committee. Plock is one of the 5 most agriculturally productive provinces in Poland. At the same time, however, the alarm is given every year that strawberries and raspberries are spoiling. The cooperatives are not picking up the produce. We talk about liberating public initiative but how are we to do that since the rural areas are already building roads, barns, shops and irrigation lines, etc.? After all, farmers are not willing to get involved in the construction of canning plants.

[Answer] We have a plan for increasing canning facilities but within the bounds of this conversation, I cannot discuss them in sufficient detail. Improving the quality of this region's produce is an important matter. Since you mentioned strawberries and raspberries, let us consider them. Aside from the "Faworytka" Plant, no one wants to buy other types of strawberries despite the fact that we harvest so many of them. Our province's yield of strawberries and raspberries has strayed far away from that of the rest of the country.

[Question] Despite the fact that this is such a great field for these fruits?

[Answer] The whole problem is that people are used to thinking of us as Europe's leading raspberry field and Poland's leading strawberry field. They think that because our province has a 30-year-old tradition, they will always have as many strawberries and raspberries as they want. However, conditions have been changing over the last 20 years. At one time, this province supplied all of Poland. The canning plants thought that it was senseless to ship our produce from so far away, especially when raspberries and strawberries are so perishable during transport (economic reform had already begun). That is why farms were built around Koszalin and Bialystok to supply Gdansk and also around Kielce and Radom. We were left without canning facilities. No one thought about that problem. The solution was simple -- we had only to sell our produce and take our profits. The years crept by and we now have so many problems because we cannot make any great investments and we are having to struggle to catch up. In addition, aside from rival firms and farming cooperatives, village cooperatives are also beginning to compete with us. We just signed our contract of the century with the Soviet Union. Until the year 2000, we will be exporting onions from the Leczyca and Kutno regions to the USSR.

[Question] Thank you for the conversation.

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PZPR CC MEETING ON YOUTH INTEREST IN ACTIVISM

Warsaw ZYCIE PARTII in Polish No 10, 20 May 87 p 11

[Article by Werba: "Why Are Youth Standing Aside?"]

[Text] This was not a typical gathering one calls a meeting with the customary report, discussion and conclusions. The organizers of this meeting, the PZPR Central Committee's Personnel Policy Department, the Department of Youth Affairs, Physical Education and Tourism, the Social Sciences Academy, the central administrations of youth associations, the youth affairs minister and the Institute for the Study of Youth Problems, organized a symposium which spurred discussion and an exchange of views. The subject of the symposium was how youth are treated in the PZPR's personnel policy and this is a problem that is not only difficult and complicated but one which also arouses a great deal of emotion regardless of one's viewpoint.

There were many participants. Both scientists and practitioners agreed about one thing: pitiless statistics show that there are still too few young people in management. After all, these are energetic, courageous and innovative people who are a great opportunity for economic reform and progress in all areas of life.

In promoting youth, Wladyslaw Honkisz, the director of the PZPR Central Committee's Department of Personnel Policy, recalled the principles of party policy on the promotion of youth, the decisions of the 9th Congress, the resolutions of the 1982 9th Central Committee Plenum, the 1983 13th Plenum, the Politburo resolution of 6 May 1986 and the resolution of the 10th PZPR Congress and stated that all party documents on personnel policy boldly call for entrusting young people with management positions. "This unquestionably positive trend has already begun but it still faces many barriers," said the speaker. Most people think that youth has no influence over the personnel policy and that young people are left standing in the corner. Why?

Everyone present tried to find an answer to that question. Youth Affairs Minister Aleksander Kwasniewski talked about shortcomings in the process of shaping young people's personalities and their way of thinking and reacting.

This process does not meet the needs of an effective personnel model and in fact, there is no lucid and complete model. "Only once the four personnel systems (general, department, provincial and plant systems) form a cohesive whole," he said, "will the advancement of youth no longer depend on connections and good luck."

Professor Maria Jarosz of the Polish Academy of Sciences presented research material which confirms this. The arrangement of ties and pressures in an informal plant system do not reward those who are the best workers but those who function best under that system.

But do young people want advancement? Is management one of their professional goals? Studies have shown that this is generally untrue for 6.2 percent of the respondents placed a value on such promotion. This can be correlated to the youth opinions presented by Professor Jan Bogusz, director of the Institute of Youth Problems Research: young people may generally accept the principles of personnel policy but they do talk about their complete absence in the practice of their own places of employment. Where then are the party organizations that are supposed to carry out party policy and resolutions and translate them into the language of everyday practice?

"In our coming programs and resolutions, we must remember," said Jerzy Swiderski, former director of the Department of Youth Affairs, Physical Education and Tourism, "that it is not just their adoption but also their realization that is politically important". The three and a half years that have since since the adoption of the "Chief Directions for Personnel Policy" has been time enough to see how well the policy on youth has been carried out. In practice, however, things vary quite a lot. The problem of young personnel has been made a permanent element of executive board plenum meetings and conferences of secretaries from all levels of the party. This problem has also been introduced to the training system, to party aktiv seminars and to basic party organization meetings. The problem of youth advancement is at the center of attention of various party youth commissions. Personnel policy has therefore become an important part of the party's inner activities. However, do the results of all of these actions give any satisfaction? Not everywhere. Many party instances and organizations take a superficial and inconsistent approach to the problem. Promotions of young people have risen only slightly and at the present time, only a little more than two-thirds of the present nominees for various levels of leadership are persons under 35 years of age. The higher one goes, the fewer young people can be seen.

As Professor Bronislaw Ratus, prorector of the Academy of Social Sciences, said, all of the statements made during the discussion will be published by the Academy. If this is so, it would be a good idea to make it required reading for party instances and organizations. The symposium's slogan, "The Party is betting on youth", must mean more than the preparation and adoption of another set of resolutions and programs. There must also be practical and consistent introduction of these principles. In the themes for the 4th Plenum which are presently under discussion, much attention has been devoted to the role of the basic party organizations in the realization of personnel policy, especially with regard to the young generation. The party has actually assumed the role of promoter in the process of creating young, ideologically-minded and capable cadres.

ACADEMIC ON YOUTH ATTRACTION TO SUB-CULTURES, SATANISM

Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 9 Apr 87 p 3

[Interview with Michal Szymczak, director of the Social Pathology Section, Council of Ministers' Institute for Research on Youth Problems, by Ewa Smolinska-Borecka: "Let's Not Demonize Satanism"]

[Text] [Question] Punks, poppers and hippies...some feel that they are deviates and a fringe unworthy of serious interest. Others call them "youth subcultures" and see them as subjects of scientific study. The Institute for Research on Youth Problems also sees them as a serious matter. Why do subcultures come into being?

[Answer] It is often said that under our conditions, they emerge from a "sociological vacuum". On the micro-level, young people identify with their families and friends and on the macro-level, with their nation. On the middle level, however, there is an empty place that should be filled by youth organizations and the schools but these institutions do not fulfill the expectations of most youth. That is why they strive to create informal groups within which their own accepted values and norms are confirmed and in which they can find self-fulfillment. Parkinson commented that "it is easy to condemn drug addiction and still easier to laugh at some bearded buffoon carrying a sign in some angry protest march but it is much harder to create a society to which young people have an earnest desire to belong".

[Question] But are we to condemn or approve subcultures?

[Answer] That is hard to say clearly because the various groups differ so much among themselves. After all, it was the youth movements that gave birth to the "sexual revolution" that we are all enjoying and also formed the base for drug addiction. Some subcultures like street people and "fascists" are really pathological in nature. They mostly attract youth with the sort of "bad tendencies" that would emerge whether they joined a group or not. These paracriminal organizations cannot be accepted in any way. However, there are still other groups like hippies, rastafarians and even punks that have nothing in common with delinquency. We can see certain positive traits in their

existence. They give young people a feeling of security and let them fulfill their need for success and affiliation. The members of these groups stand behind each other and participate in their own culture such as it is and especially in their rock music which is one of the elements that unites and creates shared patterns.

Membership in a subculture can also be positive when the lack of any way to spend free time can often lead to criminal behavior. For many years, I worked in an institute for educating difficult youth. Many of these young people were potential criminals. When they formed a punk-rock group, they began to "be punks" and stopped being rogues because they were not musicians and fans. The other "plus" side of a subculture is their causes such as the ecology, peace and pacifism.

I think that each of us would support such causes. In spite of that, many people do not in any way accept subcultures. In order to change the extremely negative attitudes that people who work with youth have toward these groups, the Institute began training teachers, instructors in culture palaces and activists of youth organizations. It also published a popular book which acquaints people with the problem of subcultures and helps them better understand young nonconformists.

[Question] You are talking about your own book, "Hippie, Punk, Popper and Whatever -- an Outline of the Styles of Youth Protest in the 1980's".

[Answer] This was the first result of a three-year research program at the Institute. At the present time, youth subcultures are being studied by two groups at the Institute, the group on youth participation in culture and the group on youth pathology.

[Question] I was surprised to see that your book did not say anything about satanists.

[Answer] There is no way a single work can cover all subcultures. I left satanism out because this "destructive cult" (as it is called in the West) had not reached Poland yet in 1980 which was when my book was written. Of course, that does not mean that satanism is an entirely new phenomenon. During the period between world wars, there was also a satanist fad among the elite classes. There was a Church of Satan, books were published and satanic elements could be found in the poetry of this period. The renewed growth of interest in satanism seems to have occurred last year as evidenced by the black mass held in Jarocin. From that moment, similar excesses have occurred in various cities. That may certainly cause alarm but I think it is only a fringe phenomenon. The Institute has also not conducted any separate studies dedicated to satanism. My group, for example, studies factual social problems and there is no lack of them: alcoholism, drug addiction and juvenile suicides. I think satanism is only a fad. I do not see any social and cultural basis for saying that it can substantially increase, all the more so as it is in conflict with our Catholic traditions.

[Question] Sacrificing animals, desecrating graves, violence and even forcing persons into prostitution are all part of satanism in Poland. This cult would upset me a great deal even if it had only hundreds instead of thousands of followers.

[Answer] These crimes are committed under the cloak of satanism but I suspect that the young people who commit them have little true idea of what satanism really is. Satanism is the rejection of certain commandments and bans and also of any form of divinity. This is giving oneself over to vitality and carnality. This does not of course mean that I am absolved of my sins or that I am praising this fad. Criminal behavior among young people convinces everyone that satanists cultivate evil, cruelty and sadism. The leader of the heavy-metal group "Kat" ["Executioner"], Roman Kostrzewski, who professes to be an ardent satanist, said of animal sacrifices: "That could only be done by irresponsible persons. A real satanist would never consider murdering an animal because he respects all forms of life".

[Question] Unfortunately, teenage satanists see hooliganism as a part of this cult and it is the only thing that counts for them. That makes it impossible to even discuss the idea of satanism with them.

[Answer] That is why any serious conversation misses the mark. Criminal acts must simply be regarded and punished as crime. However, we will not get into a panic over these sporadic goings-on nor will we demonize the phenomenon.

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POLITYKA SPONSORS CATHOLIC-MARXIST FORUM

Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish No 16, 18 Apr 87 pp 1, 4-5

[Roundtable discussion with: Professor Wladyslaw Findeisen, chairman of the Primate's Social Council; Editor Slawomir Siwek, member of the Council of Ministers' Press Council; Professor Stanislaw Stomma; Professor Andrzej Swiecicki, chairman of the Council of State's Consultative Council; Docent Stanislaw Kwiatkowski, director of the Center for Public Opinion Research and member of the Council of State's Consultative Council; Professor Janusz Reykowski, director of the Polish Academy of Science's Department of Psychology; Jan Bijak and Daniel Passent: "Between Heaven and Earth"]

[Excerpts] In contemporary Poland, can Catholics and Marxists cooperate in public life? In what areas is cooperation most necessary? What conditions should be met before people of different philosophies can work together for the good of all?

We looked for answers to these questions and others in a discussion to which POLITYKA invited well-known Catholic figures such as Professor Wladyslaw Findeisen, Editor Slawomir Siwek and Professor Stanislaw Stomma and the authors of publications well known to POLITYKA readers, Professor Andrzej Swiecicki, Docent Stanislaw Kwiatkowski and Professor Janusz Reykowski. POLITYKA was represented by Jan Bijak and Daniel Passent. The published text is an authorized abridgement of many hours of discussion. Professor Stanislaw Stomma accepted the invitation to this discussion but could not attend on account of illness. We will still ask him for an interview after his return to health.

[S. Siwek] I came to POLITYKA with whom I have quarreled many times with the notion that the discussion should not be limited exclusively to the visit of the Pope nor be propagandistic in nature. I think that it should become second nature to discuss the difficult issues tormenting Poles. I have still another reservation. I have not come as the representative of any institution and I want whatever I say to be taken as the opinion of a Catholic writer.

Where can such a differentiated group meet to think about the most important problems of Poland? I would like to recall a fragment of the speech Cardinal Glemp made in Brussels in which among other things he said that an awareness of the human family is awakening, that barriers are being broken down and that people are coming together on the basis of human nature. The right to freedom and justice are also returning people in socialist countries. And that is altogether a different force. We must therefore take serious heed to our existence as a race. Catholics also see the world as it is and feel the need for the victory of moral principles and a proper life in society. I think that Catholics cannot avoid seeking solutions that serve the common good of entire social organisms over a long period of time. That search must be conducted regardless of the current situation which sometimes encourages and sometimes discourages thought about the common good. On the other hand, like the rest of this society, Catholics also have 40 years of difficult experiences that incline them to be cautious at every attempt to arrange a dialogue between social groups and the government. People ask for guarantees that their efforts will not again be perverted and this brings us to the problem of mutuality. If the public wants to do something positive, it goes to the government and ask it to remove the obstructions that make action impossible. Is it not possible to create the sort of legal system that would not only protect the government against the next crisis but would also give social groups a chance to act independently in a manner that also serves the state? In the area of economics, that is, as we know, the expansion and permanent establishment of grass-roots initiatives in our system as well as greater opportunities for private initiative. In the public realm, we cannot stir people to act against pathology without making it possible for people to form groups and without giving some legal basis of operation to ecological groups, charitable initiatives and groups promoting society. In the political sphere, it may be necessary to find a new way to deal with opposition groups by which I mean that there should be some opportunities for advancement for people who are not part of the party or state apparatus. Without this, there cannot be any broader popular in public life. The citizens of a single state must all have the same laws. We must allow responsible but critical people to become involved in public life and not only as a token opposition but because they are qualified. I am referring not only to industry but also to positions of authority in government and education, etc. I am glad that Editor Bijak spoke about democracy because in principle, this is the entire problem in Poland.

[A. Swiecicki] We should not look at dialogue as a means of bargaining but as an effort to understand each other's points of view. With regard to morality, we must first approach that problem by considering the church ethics. What has been important for the clergy in Poland over the last 40 years? The founder of our religion built a social ethic from three components: he was practically involved in family life, was a teacher and was a physician because he healed and fed the people. In this light, I would like to examine certain issues in Poland. I think that over the last 40 years the church has paid special attention to strengthening family life and is still doing that today. The results of the church's activities can be measured by sociological

criteria. Religious families have more children and as the polls show, religious families also show considerably more acceptance of matrimonial moral norms and especially sexual morals. Many Catholics ignore specific norms but the church's activity has had results. Sometime around the end of the 1950's, the church's activities in the realm of the word were redoubled and this included catechism, the academic ministry, the Great Novenna, the Christian Culture Week and the introduction of laymen to making speeches. Broader national and social issues began to be raised in the 1960's and 1970's and that activity is still growing. Finally, let us look at the third element of healing and feeding the people. As we know, at the beginning of the 1950's, the church was deprived of its Caritas organization, a large institution which operated hundreds of preschools, hospitals and homes for the elderly. Unfortunately, from that very moment, this activity began to decline. Nuns were removed from the hospitals and as a result, the traditions of social welfare and medical ethics began to decline. By their very nature, Christians are inclined toward helping others but they do not have the institutional opportunities and that has created a great social vacuum. In 1976, the Worker Defense Committee was formed. In the beginning, this was also an initiative aimed at helping people fired from their jobs or imprisoned and aiding their families. I know that some of the committee's organizers later used it for political purposes but it was still a response to a public need. Therefore, such initiatives must be given a green light as this would allow the best priests and laymen to more easily construct a welfare society. There must be some means of institutionalizing charitable activities and of establishing the needed facilities. This is, of course, not only a matter of helping prisoners of conscience but everyone who needs assistance. The church has clearly demonstrated its willingness and readiness to act.

[D. Passent] I think that not only has the clergy grown as Professor Swiecicki said. This country, the state and the system in which we live are also growing. We are meeting today in a special period because in Poland, the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, we are seeing great changes that would have been inconceivable only a few years ago. Recent years have shown that in Poland and the USSR, there are not and should not be any limits to our thoughts. Just a few years ago, who would have thought that such a telephone call to Sakharov could have taken place or that Sakharov could have taken part in the Moscow Peace Forum? Certain processes are also occurring in Poland and the pluralistic character of our country has become more obvious. No one can consider themselves as the sole executors of change. The various sides and circumstances all influence one another. We have become too used to having our thinking limited. The very rapid changes in the USSR and the other socialist countries often shock us with their boldness which shows that there should not be any obstructions to thought or to discussion. Action should only be limited by our conditions, our epoch, positions, interests and ideologies. We must be uncommonly bold in our thinking and in the formulation of demands and postulates and in the planning of certain enterprises. We must think boldly and temper our thinking with a sense of what is realistic. I wonder how much our de facto social pluralism is also a political pluralism. Let us look at freedom of press. In spite of all censorship, there still

appear a great many articles that are very critical not only of government decisions and economic policy, etc. but also of an entire economic system based on central planning and state ownership of the means of production. Of course, I also know from my own experience what is not being published but I can say that the sort of criticism that is published shows how much progress we have made.

There are some very critical films and plays that are not at all inspired by the church or the political opposition but have actually been produced using state funds. "Mother of Kings" is one of the most critical works. Great progress has certainly been achieved in freedom of speech. I am referring to various discussions among academic and economic circles which are not sponsored by the church as well as events such as the Christian Culture Week or the PRON discussion clubs. These discussions most faithfully reflect the differences in public opinion. Sociologists have also gained greater opportunities to produce a more authentic image of society. I think that certain postulates advanced here by Editor Siwek are worth supporting. For example, I feel that there are too many barriers to the organization of public groups. We recently saw an example of this. We were recently asked for help by a group that wanted to form a Witkacy Society that had been refused registration. They were told that the Polish Writer's Association and the Mickiewicz Museum were responsible for Witkacy's legacy. The Witkacy Society had been told by these institutions that they are not especially concerned with Witkacy and in spite of that, the society was still refused registration. I think that the reluctance of the court to register the society stems from the experiences described by Professor Swiecicki. An outwardly innocent organization becomes a tool for the political opposition. Anyone wishing to oppose the system can exploit any structure. They do not even need an organization because it is enough to have an apartment in which the latest round of the duel over the limits (and such limits do exist) of pluralism in our country can be fought.

I agree that there are too few possibilities for economic initiatives. We must also create greater chances for the advancement of people outside of the apparatus if we are to stop people from accusing us of negative selection of personnel.

I would very much like to know if our guests think that unemployment is moral. I am referring to Poland rather than the West where they have become used to unemployment (whether or not the unemployed are used to that is another question altogether). This problem is quite important for our future economic model. More and more is being said about the need for competition and bankruptcy. This will produce victims and some people will lose their jobs. Appeals for good work have gone unheeded and some form of limited unemployment is necessary. Are we ready for an efficient economy at such social costs? To put it briefly, should we take out the whip of unemployment and should the authors of plans for radical reform count on the support and understanding of people guided by the principles of morality?

[J. Bijak] I can add yet another question. What sort of income differences are we willing to accept? Incomes in private businesses have already caused outrage. Are we to act in accordance with reform or with public opinion?

[S. Kwiatkowski] Like Editor Siwek, I can only speak for myself and the views I represent are only my own. From time to time, I too have quarreled with POLITYKA but for different reasons. The editors have brilliantly honored that with a certificate "for long years of life". I refer to that to show that politics with both a small and capital "p" can coexist. I work in an institution that is important both politically and academically and that is something that naturally stirs controversy. This betrays a tendency to be arbitrary -- it is hard to convince some that it is possible and others do not want to agree. To put it briefly, politics are not at all an idyllic affair.

If our conversation is to revolve around morality in terms of good and evil, I would prefer to talk about the specific forms that good and evil take. I do not have to fabricate anything at all: according to a poll conducted by the Center for public Opinion Research [CBOS], most Poles, when asked about their fears and criticisms all point to the pathology of social life. There is a similar consensus on what they would like to see in social life and in their greatest expectations and needs. It is not surprising that the differences are found in how different people propose to overcome "evil" and attain "good". This brings us to the point of policy on economics, education, culture and information, etc. The proposed solutions show conflicts of interests, particularism and group-centered points of view. There has emerged a need for understanding and compromise or in other words, a policy that can be conducted according to constitutional rules of democracy.

The division according to political interests does not overlap any division into Catholics and Marxists. That is a fallacious view! The matter is neither so obvious nor so complex. What is most important is one's social status and material position. Furthermore, we must remember the different political orientations found within the church itself and the different political opinions found among members of the public and within the party. This Spring, the colors black and white are fashionable but policy should consider all of the colors of the Polish rainbow.

Historical experiences were mentioned here. It is well known that the 40 years of our postwar history have seen many different things but we have mutual complaints that go even further back in time. Let me recall the parable about stoning sinners. Poland always had barricades with too many stones to throw. It is time to use those stones to build something and time to seek a little wisdom. Wisdom and foolishness are not found on opposite sides of the barricade or with one or the other set of beliefs. Nature has divided us according to her own whims. Both the church and party have people who are ready to repeat all of the old mistakes and sins and set their own people against those who have different beliefs. Neither atheism nor political clericalism are fit for a philosophy that can integrate the Polish

people. History has taught us that both of these trends are anti-Polish in their results.

Much has changed both among the Catholics and Marxists. As proof of this, one can quote Cardinal Glemp and statements made by General Jaruzelski that confirm the changes which have occurred and the shared intentions of both church and state. No one can argue that we have achieved greater democracy both in substance and in practice but the impatience at the slow pace of change is understandable. It is important that the process is in motion and that the next initiatives are being considered. It is true that that which is better is the enemy of that which is good but time is necessary. I always repeat that we have the type of democracy that we can afford. New forms must be given greater social significance and citizens have to be more active although we all know that this is one of our weaknesses. I know all about bureaucratic resistance and the insecurity of the government apparatus but it is also true that we can take democracy much further and that we have much more democratic possibilities than we do practical activities. Legal solutions are important but what we actually do is even more important. Real deeds create guarantees for the future. We must achieve the proper political habits and culture. Standards of behavior that become obvious are enforced through their very existence.

[W. Findeisen] Editor Bijak seems to have correctly defined the basic condition for the creation of a social morality and that is participation in what is happening in our country and a feeling of shared responsibility. I think that without such a feeling of responsibility, it is hard to imagine any degree of social morality including the sort of economic morality that prevents the waste of national wealth. This train of thought leads us directly to the relationship between citizens and the state and the concept of the state as a value shared by all rather than as the property of the authorities. In other words, the citizen who is an adherent of the ruling party must feel himself to be equally responsible for the costs and benefits of the growth of the state. Obviously, that is hard to achieve and it seems that it has not been fully achieved in any country. Many conditions must be met before this state of affairs is reached and one of the basic conditions is a philosophically-neutral state. State institutions cannot have a religious, atheist or agnostic orientation. Once the state takes a side or stands with the atheists as it has in Poland, the troubles begin because it is then unable to treat religious persons impartially. The adherents of the philosophy formally or informally espoused by the state automatically become a privileged group. I would like to see a lay state that is philosophically neutral and the Polish People's Republic is a lay state of this sort, at least in its constitutional premises. As we know, actual practice is different and this has produced a state that is two-faced. It has also alienated Catholics. As Professor Rejkowski wrote two years ago, that is not of course the sole cause of alienation. The violation of the state's assumed lay character is especially obvious in the educational system which gives a preference to a specific point of view. The law on education and child-raising states this unequivocally: public schools are supposed to cultivate a "scientific view of

"the world" which means a materialistic viewpoint. And I repeat, the state meanwhile should be a lay state in the strict sense of this word because social morality is otherwise impossible. Would philosophical neutrality give Christians a greater role in public life? It is hard to say. I think that we must deal not only with political but also with social alienation. There is reluctance to become involved in public life and a lack of faith in the need and effectiveness of involvement. It must be said that such an attitude contradicts today's understanding of Christianity. The church expects Catholics to take part in public life and try to change the world. I think that every citizen has the means around him to be socially active and serve society in parent or neighborhood committees. After all, experience has shown us how hard it is to encourage people to take part in public life. We did see a period of greater social commitment in the higher schools after the 1982 law was passed. Such commitment would be appropriate now but the tension has lessened and the willingness to act has diminished. This is first of all due to a change in the law but has also been caused by the manner in which the government supervises higher education. Of course, if social activity is aroused and people begin waiting to think about the common good, then there will also appear certain uncombed ideas. There will be some "unwanted events" but that is how it must be if we want our youth to become more active and intellectually aroused. Does it always have to be seen as antigovernment activity? I have never seen a demonstration on behalf of capitalism. One must assume that if we are to achieve greater public activity and democracy, then we cannot see all views and statements in such black-and-white categories.

[S. Siwek] I would like to reinforce what Professor Findeisen said about the state and the public's relationship to the state. Without government neutrality, the public will continue to grow more alienated from the state. People will begin to feel less and less responsibility for the affairs of the state. We can also talk about the strengthening of the Polish state and in this area I see much room for common action. It seems to me that Marxists have departed a great deal from the initial idea that the state would wither away as part of the process of revolution. But if the church is offered a chance to become involved in certain issues, this is always under the conditions that the relationship between the state and church must be based on full recognition of the socialist order. I know the church well and it has always recognized the state. And then there arises the question of whether the state is recognized just as a state or as a "socialist" state and that is where lies the problem of the state's neutrality. As soon as the state does become neutral, the religious public will start to feel something in common with this, its own state. Perhaps then will problems like religious studies in our schools disappear. I have nothing against objective presentation of knowledge about different world religions but I am opposed to any government attempt to replace one religion with another. Perhaps if this were not done, we would not be seeing teachers fired. They have been fired on the basis of the law on overcoming the crisis. That law has been abolished but these same teachers still cannot return to work. Perhaps the government's representatives would no longer say that teachers are state employees and

should present the scientific viewpoint. Where is our freedom of conscience and tolerance? There would be no instructions for boy scouts to remove their uniforms before going to church. In very serious conversation, it would no longer be said that a child in school is the ward of the state and should be educated to have a scientific view of the world. In the programs for general education secondary schools we also find it stated that the process of youth education is inspired by the lasting values of Marxist ideology. Colonel Kwiatkowski called on us to respects facts and that too is a fact.

Some mention was made of offers to the church to become involved in aiding the poor and infirm and help control social pathology. Here too, the facts are important. Professor Swiecicki talked about the fate of Caritas and the problem of church charitable organizations. I have nothing against the state conducting charitable activities and think that there should be as many of these institutions as possible but I am for finally letting the church have its own official charity organization. The church has its own pastoral methods of working with prisoners and restoring them to society. Meanwhile, it has been calling out for an agreement to let certain prison chaplains work.

I think that the state's policy unclear policy on foundations must change. I am not going to return to the issue of agricultural endowment which I saw as an experiment creating a chance for cooperation between the church and state. After all, the church and Catholic groups can create such economic institutions aimed at providing social and medical help, assisting youth in academic creativity, tourism and protection of historical places. Can it exist?

There is still another entire sphere of propagative church activity and that is Catholic publications. I have just learned that a paper supply for PRZEGLAD KATOLICKI was finally arranged. I am glad but permission has still not been granted for the renewed publication of newspapers that were abolished during the Stalin period. It is a problem for the church to gain access to radio, television or the press to use such mass media for the cultivation of morality. All of these issues must be resolved. I think that they can be settled step by step. I am an advocate of realism as long as we creatively consider a new way of looking at the state's functions.

Editor Passent talked about unemployment. If we are going to create a market economy, this is a problem that we will face. From my own point of view, it is immoral for someone to go without work. It is also immoral to obstruct the economic mobility of the people, to hinder grass-roots initiatives and the expansion of the private sector. The state will have to provide greater welfare to people who are unable to find new sources of income. Every society has its crippled, elderly and sick people that need help. Meanwhile, for those that can work, we must quickly create a non-bureaucratic system and new places of employment. It cannot be that 5 fellows planning to set up a ~~private~~ workshop must compete for government permission. This should only be a matter of registering the new workshop rather than one of giving permission. This is how I would solve unemployment. Of course, the radicalism of reform

cannot in our situation be a matter of suddenly tearing apart the old system because that would only threaten people's feeling of security. We must look for solutions that will work and which are also innovative for both socialism and capitalism.

[J. Bijak] I would like to point out that there are Catholics who have found a way of closely cooperating with the government and with the socialist state. Point of view does not therefore determine their relationship to the state but rather it is certain additional elements that are, let us say, political or institutional in nature.

Professor Reykowski spoke about the danger of destabilization. It is the fear of destabilization that explains the government's caution in the realization of public desiderata, even the just ones if they create a risk of disrupting the established order. Professor Swiecicki mentioned KOR which started as an institution whose purpose was to care for repressed workers and which as time passed became a political factor that in 1980-81 contributed much to the fact that the processes that could have led us in a direction everyone in the party and church alike desired led us instead into destabilization. That was one of the experiences that have inclined the government to take a cautious attitude toward the ideas and initiatives that are appearing today. We do not have to accept every negative decision that the government makes regarding some association or club but we must understand why it is so cautious. Recently in an underground newspaper, someone gave a very expert report on the subject of housing self-management. He resented an entire litany of demands, all of which were correct. The only problem is that the whole portion was served up with a distasteful sauce: let's take over the showcase in the housing settlement, make a pedestal and display the entire self-management council and its party ranks. This reveals a deeper tendency to, as they say in political language, create a parallel state. They want to create so-called independent or public organizations which are not part of the existing state. You will all admit that it is maddeningly difficult to get Catholic figures to take part in various official institutions. We regard all of them as terrible important in creating a feeling of public responsibility and in arousing social activity but regional or worker self-management has not been supported by the church or any of its associated institutions. I do not remember the church even encouraging anyone to join these organizations. Perhaps that is why the government is cautious and is alarmed by attempts to create structures outside of its own institutions. People say "let us wait and see what the government's next gesture will be". Mr. Sivek presented an entire catalogue of expectations. However, let us look at how policy has developed over the last few years. There is a very clear line on democracy. Let us not be surprised that after its well-known experiences, the government is not willing to lose control of the process of democratization. In some areas, the government is very cautious while in others, it can be very bold. Finally, since our recent great social conflict, we have become a nation without political prisoners. We said that we are satisfied that we can talk together and hope that what we say will be printed. At one time, this would have been impossible. In such cases, I am always reminded of what Professor Infeld

said: "In evaluating events, it is not important where one is but where one is going". I think that our meeting is an expression of trust in where we are going and is also a sign of hope. It is also up to us to create a climate of trust. I believe that much of what we have discussed here can be realized in a climate of trust. We must build the basic values for our community and that is indispensable to social hygiene. People must have faith in the government and believe that the state can be sensibly organized. They will then see their place within the state.

[A. Swiecicki] Let me answer Editor Bijak's question about disparities. They are always less in a poorer society and greater in a rich one. In Poland, where people have a below-average standard of living, disparities are considered immoral. Wage disparities are something else. I think that we can allow high income for people who show economic skills and exceptional initiative. And we should not stifle that initiative with taxes when these individuals reinvest their income. Editor Bijak justified the government's caution about certain initiatives. What is really happening is that they fear the grass-roots initiatives rather than those that start at the top. Why give some permission to set up a workshop or an association or why hire someone from Solidarity when that can cause problems? Meanwhile, a negative decision does not make any trouble except that it is society that pays for these fears.

Professor Reykowski talked about the selection of our course of development. Catholic doctrine rejects the extreme solutions of full liberalism and forced collectivization. The contemporary church strongly champions the idea of voluntary grass-roots socialization. That is a sign of the times and I think that this is an area in which we can come together.

[D. Passent] I am listening to this discussion with great interest because it reflects the changes that are taking place in people's view of the world in which we act. One can see, for example, that the church is more strongly emphasizing that it is the church of poor people and to a certain extent credit for this goes to Karl Marx and his followers. In turn, as General Jaruzelski said in Rome, the attitude of the Marxists and government to the church and religion has also undergone changes. In our way of thinking, it is not too clear who is the stronger, the state or the church. In various debates and discussions, the attitude relationship tends to be a tactical one that changes as does the situation. When it is convenient, it is said that all of society belongs to the church. The other side of that is the bureaucratic fiction of a pair of bureaucrats, soldiers and policemen. At other times I hear it said that it is the stronger side or the state that should make the first gesture. There is just one Polish state, a socialist one, and no other. At the same time, people use their distance from the state as proof that they are good Poles and patriots. It seems to me that at times this distance can be explained and justified but only within certain limits, just like the distance from the church. In statements made by the highest authorities of the Polish church, there are no such signs of alienation or dislike that one sees among various people that call themselves Catholic

activists. I think that the dilemma of who is stronger in Poland cannot be resolved. It is simply false. That is why gestures are meaningless.

How much does the Catholic Church affect public life? You are demanding 16 new newspapers but even if you get them (and the number of new Catholic papers is indeed growing), you will then want to control 90 percent of the titles because 90 percent of Poles are Catholics. Therefore, does there exist some state of ownership and influence that should exist?

One can argue about whether or not the schools' program of comparative religion is a good one. In POLITYKA, Professor Sandauer and other supporters of teaching this course have offered serious and concrete objections. However, the principle itself seems justified and has not been harmful to the various churches. The fears expressed by Catholics now seem exaggerated. This is demonstrated by the more than 40 years of the Polish People's Republic and its government which has been arbitrarily condemned as godless and atheistic but under which the Catholic Church has bloomed as never before. No area of knowledge should be shut off to science just like the Catholic Church has not been isolated from any area of social or public life in Poland. What is important is that the teaching of comparative religions not make the mistakes once made in the teaching of biology or philosophy or sociology and cybernetics. The very coexistence of two different sources of knowledge can be advantageous to young people and is in the spirit of pluralism, especially when no one has or should have a monopoly which in Poland is fortunately impossible.

[W. Findeisen] With regard to the socialist state, the law on higher education states that schools are to give youth a socialist education. I asked colleagues, officials and politicians what this means. Is it supposed to be the education of a good citizen of a socialist state, teaching youth to become experts on Marxism or an effort to turn young people into socialists? I did not find an answer. If the education minister does not know what a socialist education is, then it is easy to assume that it is whatever sort of education that follows the views and intentions of the government while an antisocialist education is anything that conflicts with the current opinion of the current minister of higher education.

Our meeting is not of course a session of the Joint Commission. We are not representatives of the church anymore than you represent the government. We must remember that if Catholics become involved in public life, it will be as citizens with a Christian point of view and not as persons acting on behalf of the church. A Catholic is not a church representative and a religious viewpoint is not a political viewpoint.

Wladyslaw Findeisen (1926) -- professor of automation, former rector of Warsaw Polytechnical Institute, correspondent member of the Polish Academy of Sciences, chairman of the Primate's Social Council.

Stanislaw Kwiatkowski (1939) -- docent doctor habilitatus, sociologist and political scientist, colonel, former officer for special orders of the defense minister, director of the Public Opinion Research Center, member of the chairman of the Council of State's Consultative Council.

Janusz Reykowski (1929) -- professor of psychology, director of the Psychology Department of the Polish Academy of Sciences, correspondent member of the Polish Academy of Sciences.

Slawomir Siwek (1950) -- graduate of the Central School of Agriculture, Catholic press writer, member of the Press Commission of the chairman of the Council of Ministers.

Andrzej Swiecicki (1906) -- professor of religious sociology, former chairman of the Catholic Intellectual's Club, member of the Consultative Council of the chairman of the Council of State.

12261
CSO: 2600/611

CHURCH EFFORTS IN FIGHTING DRUG ABUSE DESCRIBED

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 16-17 May 87 p 2

[Interview with Father Czeslaw Cekiera, Faculty of Clinical and Personality Psychology of Catholic University in Lublin, by Tomasz Orlowski: "When They Stop Coming, I Know What Happened -- The Church on the Problem of Drug Addiction"]

[Text] One of the areas where church and state activity may effectively overlap to influence the moral health of society is the prevention of drug addiction. In our country, drug addiction has reached alarming dimensions. What is the church's attitude on this problem?

A Polish Press Agency journalist presented this question to Father Czeslaw Cekiera of the Faculty of Clinical and Personality Psychology of Catholic University in Lublin and also a member of the newly-appointed Council of Ministers' Commission on Drug Addiction.

[Answer] In Christian ethics, every addiction is condemned as an evil that lowers human dignity. A person addicted to something cannot properly control his behavior. In recent times, this topic has often been discussed by popes starting with Paul VI. John Paul II has given special emphasis to this issue and has become personally involved in the creation of therapeutic communities. He visits them and conducts liturgies. Last year, he opened a new home for addicts in Rome. The Holy Father knows this problem well and that lends greater meaning to his words condemning any attempt to liberalize attitudes toward drug use such as the trend for legalization of hashish and marijuana as "less dangerous" drugs. He has also strongly condemned the smuggling and trade of toxic substances which endanger human life.

[Question] Does Poland have any therapeutic communities similar to those in Italy?

[Answer] No, because the church has not made enough of an effort to create them. That is why we do not belong to the World Federation of Therapeutic Communities founded by Father Prelate William O'Brien of New York. Part of

the difficulty lies with the church's undefined legal status which means that it cannot conduct activities outside of its own walls. To overcome these difficulties, the initiative group of the Catholic Association for Prevention of Drug Addiction was formed but it is still awaiting registration. Within the church, there are also certain fears about whether or not it is ready to become involved with these problems and whether it has the proper organization. All of this means that we have still not done enough to meet the needs. And we really cannot wait any longer. Recently, for example, a young drug addict came to me at the Catholic clinic on Ulica Ksiazeca in Warsaw. He said: "There were 30 of us and now only four remain". Some addicts come quite regularly and when they stop, I know what happened.

[Question] In recent years we have seen the appearance of rather many public organizations involved in the fight against drug addiction.

[Answer] I value the activities of Monar, the Association for the Prevention of Drug Addiction and the "Return From Addiction" Association of Families and Friends of Children. I am a member of the last two organizations. However, in my opinion, too little is being done and every initiative is needed. I try to support them as a member of the new Council of Ministers Commission on Drug Addiction. In the commission's work, I try to draw attention to the need for prevention, especially in the realm of social morality. As studies have shown, addicts are often the same people who receive too little time and upbringing from their parents.

[Question] In such a situation, an important issue may be finding a way to influence youth that have still not come into contact with drugs.

[Answer] For me, that is a key issue. I have even prepared plans for a big, multi-discipline vocational school in a former Cistercian cloister at Lubiaz near Wroclaw. This enormous building (which once housed 2000 monks) is standing empty. Young people could learn various trades and do production work therefore because there is good soil, unused buildings, orchards, gardens, ponds and vineyards. Everything is going to ruin but it could be used for the benefit of all. Under this plan, 5-10 percent of the students could be addicts. That would be too few to pose any threat but still enough to say that we were saving people from the "white death". I know that the Silesians would gladly have such a "school of life". I think that it is worth trying to carry out this plan. A working community can create beautiful and great things.

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SCOUTS TASK IN IDEOLOGICAL EDUCATION GOALS NOTED

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 22 May 87 p 3

[Text] A meeting on 21 May of the Chief Council of the Friends of Scouting was devoted to increasing the effectiveness of the helpers of the Polish Scouts' Association [ZHP] in solving personnel problems and the creation of conditions for instructors to implement ideological-educational tasks.

It was emphasized in the discussions that the tasks which the association undertakes in ideological-educational work assign a particular role to scouting in the formation of patriotic-civic attitudes in children and youth. This activity, verified by many years' practice, fosters the freedom of activity of youth and their commitment to the social, economic, and cultural life of the country. However, implementation of these tasks demands the solution of fundamental personnel problems and increases demands on people who feel jointly responsible for the upbringing of the younger generation, although it is not their basic professional obligation.

Summing up the conference the chairman of the Chief Council of the Friends of Scouting, General of the Army Florian Siwicki, taking into account various opinions from the discussions emphasized the tasks for the Friends of Scouting movement, which are supporting ZHP activity in the formation of ideological-moral attitudes in instructors, solving personnel problems, and creating conditions for ideological-upbringing work.

The council, as he stated, lends universal aid to the association in searching for personnel among students at teachers' colleges and teaching studies, those taking courses in the education and improvement of teachers, and also from other communities such as the engineering-technical and medical areas and from the world of culture and the military. A climate of social approval for the activities of ZHP instructors will be created, and enterprises serving the dissemination of the educational ideal of scouting will be supported. Mass media resources should play a primary role in this area.

Preparations for the "Summer 87" scouting campaign were introduced.

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BRIEFS

BIALYTSOK SEMINAR ON SOVIET RESTRUCTURING--An all-Polish seminar on the ideological aspect of restructuring in the USSR opened in Bialystok on 27 May. The seminar's organizers are the TPPR [Society for Polish-Soviet Friendship] Headquarters, the PZPR Provincial Committee in Bialystok, and the Polish Academy of Sciences. Opening the seminar, the secretary of the PZPR Voivodship Committee in Bialystok, Mikolaj Kozak, said that it constitutes an integral part of wider undertakings connected with preparations for the PZPR Central Committee plenum on ideological matters. Basic reports were given on the first day of the meeting. Stanislaw Wronski discussed the necessity for and essence of restructuring; Jozef Penc, the strategy for socio-economic activation; Mieczyslaw Szyszko, the role of social sciences in the restructuring process; Zenon Wrzesinski, the leading role of the CPSU in implementing activation and restructuring policy; and And.zej Sadowski and Edmund Dmitrow, the perception in Polish society of the transformations occurring in the USSR. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 28 May 87 p 2] 13324/9835

PZPR WRITERS GROUP ON OPENNESS--On 27 May the participants in an all-Polish group of party writers of the PZPR Central Committee cultural department discussed the state of literary life in Poland. It was emphasized that the policy of openness has no alternative, and on the other hand, it has nothing to do with ideological compromise. The speakers called attention to the lack of grounds for separatism, and that they are participants in a single literary life. In this context the significant role of the Polish Writer's Union in the process of integrating literary communities was emphasized, and intensity and variety of union initiatives were claimed. Attention was also called to the lack of serious promotion of contemporary fine literature by publishers, the periodical press, and also the book trade. The too-long path of a book from printer to reader causes concern. At present new contacts among the publisher, bookseller, literary critic, and the reader are needed. Under the conditions of the second stage of reform, the publishing industry can not allow a decrease in the number of titles. This would have a negative influence on literary life. One of the questions on the agenda says that not only market mechanisms apply to culture, science and education, and health care, and in these cases a distinct financial policy must be applied. The basic structure of cultural life in Poland must be preserved, from periodicals to publishing firms and from theaters to other institutions of dissemination. In the meeting, conducted by Z. Safjan, the following spoke: W. Zukrowski, M. Misiorny, A. Minkowski, W. Rogowski, A. Lam,,J. Jesionowski, J. Przymanowski,

A. Przypkowski, J. Gorec-Rosinski, J.Z. Brudnicki, K. Kozniewski, Z. Bystrzycka, K. Molek, and Z. Domino. A. Wasilewski, PZPR Central Committee secretary, took part. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 28 May 87 p 2] 13324/9835

OPZZ, DIPLOMATIC CORPS MEET—Alfred Miodowicz met with the leaders and representatives of diplomatic posts on 27 May at the OPZZ seat. The OPZZ chairman spoke on the present situation in the movement after the congress of Polish regenerated trade unions, and of the union members' preparations for participation in the meetings of the 73d International Labor Conference in Geneva this June. He reminded them of OPZZ initiatives and efforts in the normalization of relations between Poland and the MOP [International Labor Organization]. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 28 May 87 p 2] 13324/9835

SOVIET-POLISH CULTURAL EXCHANGES--Moscow. PAP correspondent Jozef Rzeszut reports: At the initiative of the editorial office of the CPSU Central Committee periodical SOVIET CULTURE, a Polish-Soviet "round table" meeting took place in Moscow on Wednesday concerning the state of collaboration and cultural exchange between our countries. In addition to editorial office representatives, well-known popularizers of Polish culture in the USSR, workers from publishing houses and central cultural scientific institutions, as well as Polish correspondents accredited in Moscow and representatives from the PRL Embassy in the USSR took part in it. It was emphasized that the "Declaration on Polish-Soviet Cooperation in the Areas of Ideology, Science, and Culture" recently signed by W. Jaruzelski and M. Gorbachev creates very large opportunities for the mutual presentation of cultural achievement to the people of both countries, and also imposes great obligations on institutions involved in cultural exchange, creative associations, and the press. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 28 May 87 p 8] 13324/9835

ITALIAN ACADEMIC COOPERATION--On 26 May Prof Benon Miskiewicz, minister of science and higher education, received the Italian Republic's ambassador, Paolo Galli. Among other things, problems associated with cooperation between upper schools of both countries were discussed, as well as opportunities for widening implementation of joint research. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 27 May 87 p 2] 13324/9835

PZPR HISTORIANS GROUP CONFFERS—On 26 May a group of party historians met at the PZPR Central Committee department of science, education, and scientific-technological progress. Inaugurating the next successive period of activity, they discussed the functions and tasks of the group in the new term. Among other things, they discussed problems of implementing in the area of historical sciences the provisions of the declaration on cooperation in the areas of ideology, science, and culture starting in April 1987 signed by PZPR Central Committee first secretary W. Jaruzelski and CPSU Central Committee general secretary M. Gorbachev. The conference was conducted by Czeslaw Luczak, AM [Medical Academy] professor in Poznan. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 27 May 87 p 2] 13324/9835

PZPR PERSONNEL POLICY CONFERENCE--An instructional council of personnel policy department directors in PZPR provincial committees met in Warsaw. Wl. Honkisz, director of the Central Committee personnel policy department, led the meeting. The status of implementing Central Committee Political Office resolutions since May 1986 was evaluated, as well as tasks defined by the 10th Congress in the personnel policy area. Exchanging experiences, they called particular attention to the necessity for developing a competitive course for selection of personnel and for bolder appointment to executive posts of youth, women, and non-party members. Much space was devoted to forming the desirable attitudes of controlling personnel, especially under conditions of the second stage of economic reform, and consolidating the role of POP [Primary Party Organization] in light of the 4th Plenum recommendations. B. Ratus, PZPR ANS prorector, discussed the scientific-research proposals of the PZPR ANS personnel policy establishment. J. Zemke, deputy head of the Central Committee political-organizational department, presented goals in the selection and shaping of permanent party workers. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 26 May 87 p 2] 13324/9835

MOSCOW MILITARY CHIEF VISITS--A delegation from the Moscow Military District visited Poland on 25 May with their commander, Colonel General Vladimir Arkhipov, at the invitation of the Warsaw Military District commandant, General Jerzy Skalski. During the visit to the Warsaw OW [Military District] headquarters the delegation became acquainted with traditions as well as joint tasks, service, and schooling in the district. Gen. Arkhipov laid a wreath on the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier and on the Cemetery Mausoleum of Soviet Soldiers in Warsaw. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 26 May 87 p 2] 13324/9835

SOVIET CULTURE MINISTER VISITS--A Soviet delegation visiting our country along with the minister of culture of the USSR, Vasilii Zakharov, was in Oswiecim and Krakow on 23 May. At the site of the former Hitler extermination camp in Oswiecim-Brzezinka, the guests became acquainted with the exhibits documenting the enormity of the crimes committed by German fascists in the former Auschwitz KL [concentration camp]. In honor of the victims of Oswiecim the Soviet delegation laid a wreath and nosegays of flowers at the Execution Wall in Block 11, the so-called Block of Death, and at the international monument to victims of fascism in Brzezinka. "The peoples of the world must do everything possible to ensure that such barbarism as characterized fascism here in particular never happens again," wrote V. Zakharov in the Oswiecim museum guest book. During the afternoon, the Soviet delegation saw monuments in Krakow, including the Czartoryski collections of the Krakow National Museum. The guests attended a performance of Arthur Schnitzler's "The Procession" directed by Mieczyslaw Grabka. On 24 May the Soviet delegation along with Vasilii Zakharov, minister of culture of the USSR, visited Poronin and Krakow. The Soviet guests, accompanied by Aleksander Krawczuk, saw the Lenin Museum in Poronin and laid flowers at the monument to the revolutionary leader. The guests also saw the gallery of Zakopane author Wladyslaw Hasior. In the afternoon the guests from the USSR became acquainted with relics of national history and culture collected in the Royal Castle at Wawel. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 25 May 87 p 2] 13324/9835

CATHEDRAL BREAK-IN—On the night of 19-20 May, the basilica of a cathedral in Szczecin was broken into, the reliquary of Saint Otto of Bamberg was stolen and several offerings boxes were broken. The investigative department of the Regional Internal Affairs Bureau in Szczecin is conducting an intensive investigation under supervision of the prosecutor's office. [Text] [Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 21 May 87 p 2] 12261

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ATTEMPTS TO WEAKEN SOCIALIST COUNTRIES CONDEMNED

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 10, 25 May 87 pp 24-27

Article by Nicolae Anghel, "Fighting Bourgeois Ideology and Backward Anti-communist Theories. Promoting Revolutionary Ideology Throughout Socialist Construction," for party members in the socioeconomic units. A particular subject for party organizations in the fields of science, research, education, art, culture and health.

[Text] Crisis of Bourgeois Ideology. Divergent Purpose of Reactionary Ideas

As we know, a series of crises has been afflicting the joints of the capitalist system to an unheard-of extent during the last decade and also in this one in many respects. Reflecting the expansion and aggravation of the contradictions caused by social relations based on exploitation and oppression, these crises are manifestations of the present stage of the general crisis of capitalism and are causing dysfunctions in all areas of this kind of social organization.

Under these circumstances, the ideology has sustained and reflected the successive shocks to the whole capitalist economic, social and political system in a characteristic way. Faced with the necessity both of explaining these developments, which refute by force of the facts the theories about the "harmony" and "balance" of the bourgeois system that were widely circulated in the previous decades, and of asserting its "permanence," bourgeois ideology revived a number of old ideas expected to hide the true causes of the crisis and present it as a mere "circumstantial accident." In explaining the nature and purposes of this reversion to the past, Nicolae Ceausescu says, "In the capitalist world today the old theories that were refuted and compromised in their time have been resurrected in modified form in order to create confusion among the various social strata, to conceal the defects of the bourgeois system, and to disorient anyone who seeks a new path in social evolution."

Actually some of the older schools of thought have not been revived as such but in a new form. But they resemble the old ones in their nature because they serve the same purpose of defending the system based on domination and exploitation.

The presence of the qualifiers "neo-" or "new" in the terms for many of the current ideological trends making the apology for capitalism, as in neoliberalism, neoconservatism or neofascism, or the "new philosophers," "new economists," the "new right" etc., indicate that their promoters want them to be regarded as concepts "adapted" to the current requirements. Meanwhile nearly all of these trends openly acknowledge their affiliation with the older schools that they took over and are developing to serve the present interests of the bourgeoisie. It is highly significant that the ideological "models" that they follow are largely those of the reactionary right. Moreover as contrasted with the apologetic trends that predominated until the middle of the 1970's, the current ones frankly acknowledge and aggressively promote their role as defenders of capitalism. Their representatives no longer maintain that we are seeing the "end of the ideological conflict" in today's world but argue the necessity of "ideological consolidation" of capitalism, to which they are dedicated without reservations. Furthermore the "subtle and intelligent" anticommunist propaganda disseminated in the 1960's and 1970's has been replaced by a declared "war" on the revolutionary theory and the procedures inspired by it.

Current bourgeois ideology performs a number of interesting functions, including the attempt to bring about some changes in attitudes or to "adapt" them to the crisis conditions by convincing the various social groups, even the most disadvantaged ones, that the capitalist system can survive and even "renew itself," or that it still has resources to overcome the state of crisis, which is presented as a crisis within the system and not in its true light as a deep-seated crisis of the system itself. Moreover some western schools of ideology expressly state the fact that they are engaged in performing such a function.

But the most important function is proposing and/or justifying the political, economic, social or cultural strategies of the ruling groups, who are advancing antidemocratic plans for social development*. These plans, which strike at the workers' democratic gains, reflect the efforts of the conservative and backward forces of the monopolist bourgeoisie to find ways of protecting their interests while the old methods are proving less and less effective socially and politically. This function shows that the monopolist bourgeoisie, on an objectively inevitable historical defensive, are trying to compensate to some extent for that situation by conducting an extensive ideological offensive in defense of the existing system.

Although these schools of thought are relatively diversified, both in the subjects upon which they concentrate, namely economic, political and cultural ones, and in the ways they argue their theories, by invoking some scientific-research findings which, however, they interpret wrongly and tendentiously, or on the other hand by promoting an extreme irrationality, they have certain characteristics in common. Examination of them makes it possible to clearly disclose their class nature and commitment.

Some of them include certain "criticisms" of the present way the bourgeois social-political system is organized and operates. But they are usually criticisms, from backward positions, of such aspects as the existence of democratic rights (most often pro forma), pressure from the masses to expand the structure for participation in social-political affairs, aspirations to equality, the state's commitment to provide certain social services, etc., aspects regarded as major

*In the attempt to nullify most of the social-political rights won by the workers and the masses through prolonged struggles.

sources of capitalism's "weakened vitality." On the other hand, private ownership, the inequality it causes, pursuit of profit, and the principles of competitive individualism, or all the characteristics that make capitalism a system of domination and exploitation, are not questioned for even one moment. On the contrary, these essential and fundamental aspects are praised as "suiting human nature." The "new right," neoconservatism and neofascism propose to "reconsolidate" them, seeing in that the very key to "salvation" of the system "altered," according to these ideas, by "democratism," "egalitarianism" and conversion of the state to "an instrument of public assistance." Accordingly some representatives of the said trends are trying to establish an "antithesis" between democracy and the human personality, alleging that the former "blocks" the possibilities of "asserting" the latter and the "spirit of initiative." The ideological constructions of the right are chiefly characterized by revival and adjustment of some downright reactionary theories as links in the plans they are advancing to "reconsolidate" capitalist society, such as the "necessity" of entrusting the exercise of political power to the "elite," and its corollary, construction of a social-political system based upon inequality. There is also a resurgence of the profoundly antihumanistic ideas of racism. Suggestions are made to accentuate the state's repressive functions and to establish "order and authority" (of fascist origin), and they are heard more and more frequently in the ideological discourse of the defenders of the bourgeois system. The right and the extreme right are helping and supplementing each other both politically and ideologically in order to block the masses' aspirations to change.

In order to convey the impression of "originality" and an anchorage in the scientific attitude of the present stage, the recently assembled bourgeois doctrines are proceeding to a "renovation" of their theories. As a rule the "renovation" methodology consists of two procedures. The first is to attenuate or even avoid the peremptory formulations of these theories (with the single exception here of the ideology promoted in the neofascist publications, which preserve the brutal, unequivocal character of the assertions), for which purpose a pseudoscientific terminology is resorted to and a semblance of "detachment" is set up, obscuring the real class interests to which they are subordinated. The second procedure consists of a wealth of "substantiation" of the formulated ideas and theories. But careful analysis reveals that it consists of misinterpretations of recent scientific data and advances.

The elitists' practices, especially in their neoright versions, reflect the purpose of the social-political plans they advance. The "necessity" of establishing the elite is not usually promoted for the political plan but for the cultural one. Change of attitudes in the direction of later acceptance of political power entrusted to the elite as a "natural" option is considered a "necessary first step" toward inaugurating an elitocratic regime. As for the "legitimacy" of establishing the "cultural elite," some neorightists "substantiate" it by invoking the so-called connection between an "elite" and cultural progress. Moreover the presence of the elite is "based" upon the alleged "natural inequality" of people. In support of their vicious arguments, the representatives of the rightist schools bring up the advances of some relatively recent biological disciplines, as well as genetics and ethology, which they misinterpret. And sometimes the idea of the "necessity" of promoting "the elite" is taken in an ethical sense in promoting the "revival of the aristocratic spirit."

As for revival and promotion of racist ideas, they are sometimes disguised as "Europeanism" or discourse about the "superiority" of the European peoples. The assumed "superior genetic stock" of the Indo-European peoples is brought up for this purpose, as well as their contribution to the creation and "diffusion of culture and civilization," the "originality and efficiency" of their social organization and political management, etc. All this is used to promote the idea of the "necessity" for some European powers to regain the privileged position they held in the past and to reinstate some relations of domination over peoples on other continents.

Some of the current bourgeois ideological schools are also characterized by a special interest in and sustained efforts toward rewriting and reinterpreting history and in fact distorting it. Modern and contemporary history are their favorite subjects. For example their attacks upon the bourgeois revolution from the viewpoints of the respective doctrines are aimed at its democratic aspects, bourgeois equality and the antielitism (antiaristocracy) that it promoted. But the attempt to recover the imaginary "virtues" of the fascist doctrine and regimes and to deny, by a great many devices, the horrors committed by the latter is far more serious and harmful. In a persistent, disguised or explicit way these attempts are designed to change the image and evaluation of fascism.

The so-called danger threatened by all the social and political forces operating on the national and international levels who are questioning the historical legitimacy of capitalism through their plans, programs and activities is a veritable leitmotif running through the recent ideological output of the partisans of perpetuating capitalism*. Of course the forces of socialism are chief among them, explaining the violent anticommunism promoted by the current right, which is clearly one of the characteristic traits of the latter's ideological offensive.

Need of Militant Spirit in Fighting Attempts to Revive Fascism

As we have already indicated, the reactionary imperialist forces and the ideological representatives of their antidemocratic and antipopular interests are not resorting, in their effort to maintain and consolidate their privileges and domination, solely to extolling the "virtues" of the system based on private ownership and exploitation, the prolongation of which in international relations takes the form of a profound inequality between the developed capitalist countries and the developing countries, the practice of new forms of colonialism, and promotion of the neocolonial policy. In order to perpetuate exploitation and domination and to preserve the system established by capitalism both internally and internationally, the reactionary circles are resorting more and more to the diversionary weapon of antisocialism and anticommunism in order to shake the masses' confidence in the possibility and necessity of overcoming the system of relations peculiar to capitalism and in the fact that socialism is the only viable way to social progress, the promotion of which directly determines the fulfillment of the ideals of social and national justice, the institution of relations of confidence and collaboration among peoples and nations, and the consolidation of peace throughout the world.

In exposing these attempts clearly and in depth, Nicolae Ceausescu points out the need of taking a firm stand against imperialist propaganda, anticommunist and antihumanist ideas, and attempts to revive fascism. As he says about the reactionary rightist circles who are encouraging those ideas, "These forces are trying to

*At any cost.

start a new antisocialist and anticomunist crusade. The neofascist and reactionary circles are conducting an intensive campaign of disinformation and libel concerning the socialist countries and socialism in general. That campaign is in fact connected with aggravation of the armaments race and with the policy of oppressing the developing countries."

Circulation of theories about the "crisis of Marxism" and the "crisis" or "defeat of socialism" are to be viewed and understood as a means of distracting the peoples' attention from the real and profound crisis of capitalism, from the inability of the capitalist kind of social and production relations to still meet the demands of social progress, and from the increasingly high social and human cost of perpetuating the bourgeois system by any means, even including the openly antidemocratic, antipopular and antihumanistic ones. Exposing this fact and the real purposes of antisocialist and anticomunist propaganda is an important task of political-ideological and educational work.

Of course it is necessary at the same time to draw the necessary distinctions between anticomunist doctrines and the views that conform to a democratic, anti-imperialist trend by following the course of social progress, as it says in the RCP documents. This is an important requirement for collaboration and united action on the part of all progressive, democratic and revolutionary forces. The party secretary general's methodological directives provide valuable guidelines for this purpose: "We must not for a moment forget that there are imperialism, reactionary forces and fascism in the world, and accordingly very active reactionary anticomunist ideas. We must participate firmly and consistently in the fight against all these manifestations in whatever form they take, both nationally and internationally. But I do not think we should label a number of progressive democratic views as anticomunist or those which certain critics express about us... That would only harm the cause of progress, strengthen the reaction, and interfere with the fight against the real anticomunism of a profoundly reactionary and imperialist nature."

In view of the fact that inside the capitalist world itself theorists who take advanced leftist stands are expressing their alarm about the harmful effects of disseminating elitist and racist theories, praise of inequality, and virulent anticomunism among the masses, and that they are critical of them and see in them a symptom of the crisis of apologetic bourgeois ideology, some of the views they express can be used as arguments to expose the various manifestations of racism, neofascism and anticomunism.

One of the main tasks of revolutionary thought, which is to be found in the dialogue with all the democratic, progressive schools that express any anti-imperialist and antimonopolist interests and aspirations, is to demonstrate the superiority of the socialist system and its ability to provide the material and cultural requirements for full development of the personality and to put an end to any antagonisms among people and nations. Accordingly the complete coordination between the new social and production relations, which are based on complete and final elimination of exploitation of man by man and any forms of social or national inequality, and the requirements of social progress must be fully brought out in political-ideological and cultural-educational work, beginning with the historic achievements of socialism, its growing power of attraction throughout the world, and the ideals of socialism and communism. Moreover the

very mobilization of the ideological efforts of the reactionary forces to disparage and distort the nature of socialism, which is designed to disorient the masses in the capitalist world and to destroy confidence in the liberating potential of the new order, is a significant indication that those forces see the growing influence of socialism as a threat to the perpetuation of their privileges. This also explains the virulence of the attacks upon the socialist countries, whose appearance and development prove on the strength of the facts that the capitalist system is not the end point of history, and upon all the democratic, progressive and revolutionary forces who, by fighting in various ways for the abolition of the inequitable relations peculiar to the capitalist system, are disclosing its failure to serve the legitimate interests and aspirations of the workers and the peoples.

These ends are also served by the so-called campaign in "defense of human rights" to legitimize interference in the internal affairs of the socialist countries and other countries with the clear intention of undermining the new order and obstructing the constructive efforts of the peoples who have chosen the socialist way of development. When examined in comparison with their discriminatory practices in the capitalist world, the reactionary circles' claims to be regarded as "true defenders of democracy" prove entirely groundless. For while they are concerning themselves with observance of the civil rights and freedoms in socialism, those circles do not hesitate to violate the workers' basic rights and freedoms in their own countries when they prevent them from making maximum profits, from shifting the effects of the economic crisis onto the shoulders of the peoples, or from exercising their prerogatives acquired by manipulating the awareness.

The attempts to weaken the socialist countries also take the form, also disguised, of religious propaganda. A number of sects in the capitalist countries, whose efforts and purposes are profoundly foreign to the interests and aspirations of the masses, are using the pretext of "freedom of conscience" to infiltrate the socialist countries and to undermine the formation and development of socialist awareness by perpetuating mystical, obscurantist ideas. It could not be clearer in this case that they intend to shake people's confidence in their ability to become purposeful builders of their own future and to help bring socialist society up to new heights of progress and civilization by their own forces and in conformity with their vital interests and aspirations. Therefore, as it says in Nicolae Ceausescu's Report to the 13th Party Congress, the political-educational workers must redouble their all-around efforts to improve all workers' revolutionary socialist awareness and to firmly oppose the various mystical-religious, obscurantist manifestations and attitudes as well as any backward conceptions of work and life. The party secretary general says, "Let us not for a moment forget that various foreign ideas and attitudes of the old bourgeois-landowner society still persist, that all citizens have not permanently broken with the attitudes and practices of the past, and that unfortunately the latter are even still influencing some youths. Meanwhile we must not forget that all kinds of influences foreign to the Romanian revolutionary conception of the world and life are still coming in from outside."

Promotion of the scientific-materialist conception of the world and life, confirmed by every new advance of the human mind, and exposure of the false, irrational and antiscientific character of any religious ideology, of the mystical, obscurantist ideas, and of the backward attitudes are the theoretical foundations of the whole effort to do away with any forms of religious alienation.

Various methods must be combined in the scientific-materialist and revolutionary-humanist educational effort in order both to combat the mystical-religious ideas and to counteract the actions of the various sects. In the RCP's view it also requires correlation of the work in scientific, moral and ideological education with the existential changes and with the revolutionary effort to construct, develop and further improve the new society.

Combatting the influences of bourgeois ideology is a basic component of political-educational work, and ridding the workers' awareness of all elements foreign to the nature, principles and purposes of the socialist system depends upon its quality. It is indispensable to formation of the new man and his advanced socialist awareness.

But promotion of revolutionary ideology and its conversion to the center of the thought and action of the builders of the new order are not limited to those aspects, vital as they undoubtedly are, but are concentrated on formation of the convictions and attitudes that directly reflect the workers' dedication to the party and the people, to the nation and to the cause of socialism. As the RCP documents point out, their promotion is a continuous and comprehensive process requiring the greatest attention because construction of the fully developed socialist society and Romania's advance toward communism critically depend on it.

The Documents of the 13th RCP Congress and the RCP Ideological Program

More intensive political-ideological work is a vital requirement of the present stage. Efficient implementation of the 13th RCP Congress' decisions and increasingly intensive development of the party's role as the leading force of the whole nation call for improvement of the political-ideological work of all party organs and organizations for purposes of full development of the revolutionary spirit. Nicolae Ceausescu says, "Now we are in a higher stage of socialist construction wherein we have problems to solve that are critical to the future of the Romanian socialist nation. Therefore the work of the party and its members must rise to a new height and must be imbued with a militant revolutionary spirit essential to unfailing implementation of the RCP Program, to Romania's rise to new peaks of progress and civilization, and to consolidation of its sovereignty and independence." As the documents of the congress point out, this effort must always be based upon the dialectical-materialist revolutionary conception scientific socialism, and the RCP Ideological Program (adopted by the Expanded Plenum of the RCP Central Committee in June 1982 and approved by the National Party Conference), which a decision of the 13th RCP Congress made an integral part of the RCP Program for Building the Fully Developed Socialist Society and for Romania's Advance Toward Communism.

In the RCP's view, intensive development of socialist patriotic pride, a main characteristic of the new man's personality and a driving force of the people's creative powers, and of international friendship and solidarity with all workers and all peoples in the struggle for peace, democracy and a better and more just world is a major aim of forming the masses' revolutionary awareness. It is closely connected with knowledge of the people's patriotic, revolutionary and humanistic traditions, enhanced by RCP policy, and with continuation and development of the Romanian people's age-old aspirations to independence and social and national freedom, of respect for the similar efforts of other peoples, and of the good-neighbor traditions of friendly collaboration promoted over the years by the Romanian people.

Forming the new man's morals so that all Romanian citizens' entire activity, work and life will be based upon the principles of socialist ethics and justice and backward behavior and attitudes toward work and life will be completely and permanently eliminated is one of the major considerations in promoting revolutionary awareness. Firm refection of any displays of nationalism, chauvinism, anti-semitism and other forms of humiliation and of any attempts to slander the Romanian people's great achievements or the correct national policy of the RCP and the state is also a major aim of political-educational work that will help to enhance the individual awareness of every member of Romanian socialist society and also to strengthen friendship and solidarity among all the nation's sons as well as the entire people's unity around the party, and to make a direct, practical application of loyalty to the ideals of socialism and communism.

Under party leadership the schools, the artistic and cultural institutions, the press, radio and TV, and all workers in those fields are called upon to spare no effort to help promote revolutionary ideology, communist morality, and an innovative and responsible spirit in the lives and work of all builders of socialism, by the methods and means characteristic of those fields.

The better conditions for human, social and professional achievement that Romanian society offers every citizen and worker and their full use in forming the new man will be reflected in constant enhancement of the revolutionary spirit and in a real revolution in behavior, which is indispensable to the very process of improvement of all social activities. Nicolae Ceausescu says, "We always need revolutionaries with more new disciplines, upon whom more and more new demands are made, some incomparably greater than in the past."

Mastery of the revolutionary conception of the world and life, of scientific socialism, and of historical and dialectical materialism is one of the main requirements for forming and strengthening the revolutionary spirit. This means both intensive study of the basic works of Marx, Engels and Lenin and particularly knowledge of the RCP's political policy and of Nicolae Ceausescu's creative contributions to formulation of many new principles concerning socialist construction, the advance toward communism in Romania, and a number of major problems of today's world."

The revolutionary spirit is also based upon knowledge of all that is new in science and a high standard of occupational and general cultural training, which are indispensable to promotion of the new and opposition to the old, to display of the critical and self-critical spirit, to clear and responsible evaluation of failures as well as accomplishments, to determination of defects, and to discovery of the ways and means of remedying them, for purposes of successful performance of the tasks of the present stage, since we know that is essential to transition to new and higher stages of socialist Romania's development.

The RCP and its secretary general do not believe the revolutionary spirit has anything in common with a passive accumulation of knowledge, however recent. It must be reflected and expressed primarily in the practical activity of individuals and workers collectives. Accordingly, in view of some lags in management, planning and organization of labor Nicolae Ceausescu said at the Plenum of the RCP Central Committee in December 1986 that they are indicative of lags in political-educational work. Therefore it is absolutely necessary to redouble the efforts to improve the workers' knowledge and revolutionary awareness. We must

accordingly pay more attention to forming a new attitude toward work and socialist ownership that will reflect all workers' understanding of the significance of their capacity as owners, producers and beneficiaries of all socioeconomic activity and will also encourage active, responsible participation in organization, management and performance of work through maximum use of the opportunities for this by the structures of workers self-management and economic-financial self-administration. As noted at the meeting of the Political Executive Committee of the RCP Central Committee on 20 February 1987, that is the only way we can eliminate the defects in a short time that appeared in last year's economic activity and meet all the requirements for regular fulfillment of all indicators in the provisions of the plan for the current year as well as the aims and tasks assigned by the 13th RCP Congress for national socioeconomic development in the current five-year plan and henceforth.

All these factors indicate that in the view of the RCP and its secretary general political-educational work can never be regarded as an activity in itself, divorced from the general effort toward national socioeconomic development and improvement of the democratic system but must be done in the closest connection with the current tasks of socioeconomic development as a whole. Pertaining to the very essence of socialism, it is a permanent activity of the greatest importance to the success of the efforts toward construction of the fully developed socialist society and Romania's advance toward communism.

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RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN MARKET ECONOMY, DEMOCRACY EXPLORED

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian 31 May 87 pp 18-20

[Article by Zoran Jelicic: "Far From What Is Necessary"]

[Text] Two important conferences last week in Belgrade can be reduced to the same principal message: many things in our country are being debated as though everything is in place but has greater or lesser defects which should be removed, when actually it is a case of functions for which not even the basic prerequisites exist for their transformation into authentic institutions of the system. For example, for years there has been a hue and cry about the supposed disruption of the unified Yugoslav market, and we say "supposed," since even the market does not exist, so that discussion of any of its forms is pointless.

It was on the topic of this illustration that a notable speech was made by Dr Svetislav Tabarosi at the 3-day conference held in the School of Law of Belgrade University concerning the proposed amendments to the Law on Associated Labor. After noting that there is more talk, without any good reason, about the unity of the market than about its very existence, Tabarosi calls attention to one of the specific features of Yugoslavia: "In our system of substantive law it is explicitly envisaged for the unified Yugoslav market, aside from those definitions which are an indisputable prerequisite for any market (freedom of movement of goods and the factors of production) that on the unified Yugoslav market the working people, the nationalities, and ethnic minorities, along with others, are to pursue their interests. If we take the reference to the working people as manifestation of their functions as consumers, since we assume that they are not principals here selling their own manpower or goods (since they do not produce them individually), the reference to nationalities and ethnic minorities as protagonists of interests in the context of the generally accepted position that these entities manifest their essence through the specific state-legal form of the republic (or indeed even the province), and that these forms actually represent the guarantee of their opportunity to display the relevant interests, directly negates the freedom of principals on the market at the microlevel, since it inserts macroeconomic market entities. If this is so, the production relation of polycentric statism negates not only the existence of commodity production within the limits of a particular republic and province, but also self-management itself as a production relation. In this context the unified Yugoslav market can exist only as a supranational common market linking the independent barter economic entities of the republics

and provinces. We believe that it is precisely in that direction that it has been developing."

Life by Decree

Some sort of freedom for economic entities, then, exists only up to the limits of the national economy [in the sense of "the economy of the nationality"], and everything beyond that would be an impermissible draining off of the national surplus of labor. Tabarosi says that a man could be an adherent of such a view, but only in the realm of abstract theory. In reality this is nothing more than decreeing something which could never be set fully on the right track through enactments. At one time the Soviet Union introduced state monopoly over foreign trade when it confronted the lower productivity of its own economy by comparison with the advanced capitalist economy, and it is by the same analogy that our republics and provinces interpret and protect their own national interests. Which is why mutual settlement is our most important topic. To illustrate Tabarosi recalls that the Fund for Stimulation of the Underdeveloped Republics and Provinces was formed, that is, in the text of the Constitution this is related to the unified Yugoslav market, and he concludes that this kind of "approach to the conditions of the functioning of the unified Yugoslav market has only clouded over the true roots of its nonexistence and withering away, while at the same time it has furnished a moral and political alibi for evolution of the production relation of polycentric statism."

It would take us too far afield just to enumerate everything which the legal experts denoted as elements of the market which do not exist. Incidentally, the market was not the only topic, nor was it the central one. In the light of the proposed amendments and also the Law on Associated Labor itself, the legal experts analyzed the arrangements as to social ownership, income, the status of the work organization, with special reference to the banks, insurance, and contract organizations, etc. It should immediately be said that the proposed amendments have not won applause from the specialists. As a matter of fact, the primary target of criticism was the evasion of the principal and debatable topic, not what has been announced as a possible innovation of the Law on Associated Labor.

At least two conclusions follow from this. First, even what is good in the proposal to amend the "little constitution," as this law is referred to, will not yield the anticipated effects, since the principal causes of the crisis remain untouched. Second, if in fact the basic arrangements need to be changed, that is, the overall concept of the consensus economy which arose out of the small and large constitutions, then it might prove to be the most sensible thing to simply repeal the Law on Associated Labor. There have been proposals to that effect expressed either directly or indirectly.

Dr Ivan Maksimovic was one of those participants in the conference in whose statement one was not to infer such a proposal: Given that the Law on Associated Labor and the proposal to amend it have evaded the fundamental political-economic problems, that is, if they are left to other federal legislation, then it "can be justifiably asked whether it might not in general have been most expedient to repeal the Law on Associated Labor and leave it to postconstitutional federal legislation to adapt the basic constitutional norms to economic

and social practice and to adapt to them, or should far more time have been left for a completely new conceptualization of the Law on Associated Labor that would take into account the development over 2.5 decades of practice and theory concerning the self-management system of economic activity and the development of self-management."

During that period professional solutions have been offered for the essential problems, but those solutions have not been taken up--neither earlier nor now. The reference here is to a whole series of issues, beginning with the treatment of social resources and the market for the factors of production, especially labor and capital--all the way to the production cost of commodity producers and real and economic interest rates.

The Owners of Socialism

Maksimovic took up social ownership as an example to illustrate his basic observation, which consists of the following: How are the announced changes in the economic system to be implemented if by force of a political decision it is not possible to alter the foundations of that system? It is not a question here of the real foundations--such as social ownership and self-management, but of the entire concept that is in effect in view of the fact that almost everything has been regulated by the basic provisions of the Law on Associated Labor, and they are all under the protection of the force referred to. Maksimovic feels that the contradictions of the treatment of social ownership are broadened and deepened insofar as the commodity-market nature of social resources is required, while at the same time the proponent of changes in the Law on Associated Labor is persisting in the noncommodity and nonmarket character of those resources, saying that what is happening is that self-management relations will develop in the future through "advancement of what in legal terms is the nonownership basis of social property."

The same conclusion or awareness that the proposed amendments to the Law on Associated Labor would not bring any essential change has been arrived at by Dr Miroslav Labus in analyzing the category of income. Stated most briefly, Labus sees the principal shortcoming of the proposed amendment in that the essence of income is not changed, since: "The socioeconomic content of income, as defined by the Law on Associated Labor, is the real basis on which the so-called consensus economy is being erected. By consensus economy we mean a self-managed market economy which is firmly regulated by administrative enactments either in the direct form of laws and sublegal acts or in the form of social compacts and self-management accords whose essential nature is similar. An administratively regulated market economy neither allows economic autonomy of work collectives, without which there is no self-management, nor does it produce successful economic results. This tie-up between the principle of income and the consensus economy is directly related to the present economic crisis."

The consensus economy is something in the realm of administrative regulation of a self-managed market economy, Labus says, because it demonstrates the "elementary failure to understand the way in which a modern market economy operates and must do business. The enslavement to ideological prejudices is stronger than scientific truth." Then follows a clarification of this position concerning all the legal elements of the socioeconomic content of income, accompanied

by remarks to the effect that this is a construction which should be put in its proper place as soon as possible--in the museum of errors which have had grave economic and social consequences, that economic truth is much simpler, but it seems to be ideologically unacceptable, that ideological acceptance of certain segments of the market and rejection of others has the "small shortcoming" that it opens wide the door to constant and ever greater administration and arbitrariness--that is, that the market for goods and services can function normally only when the market of the factors of production and money is facilitated--that a dubious division of labor into productive and nonproductive is still in effect....

It is understandable that there are no true banks where there is no true money. Analyzing the constitutional provisions concerning this topic, the Law on Associated Labor and the Law on the Bases of the Banking and Credit System which has been updated many times, Dr Miroslav Petrovic notes that major changes are required if the banks are to become self-managed financial organizations, that is, if they are to be the banks which are customary in a commodity-money economy. Now the "commercial banks in our financial and economic system do not figure as principals, they are not economic entities with all the characteristics and features of those important participants in the economic life of every community," so that instead of a hue and cry against the banks because of inept investment and all the other mistakes, the causes should be sought in the present system which set up such quasi-banks in the first place. Petrovic calls attention to the fact that most banks are managed by debtors, although he did not spell out whether he was referring to debtors in the usual sense or to a possible expansion of that category even outside economic debts. Probably it is the first solution in question, although such an expansion would not be inaccurate in view of the open secret that the banks are mainly managed by the political-government leadership in the respective community. Only the population does not belong to the managerial stratum, even though they are the sole partners of the banks whose deposits amount to far more than their use of bank potential.

Finally, Petrovic also points to the current attempts, in the face of all the initial proclamations, for the banks to be even more the long arm of the government. The reference is to the recent insistence that the banks withhold credits from those who raise prices above the level which the federal government considers warranted. Seriously now, imagine a bank which would refuse to lend money to the borrower who is selling his goods more expensively, that is, who is earning more and improving his creditworthiness?!

Dangerous Individuality

The 3-day conference of legal specialists and political economists in Belgrade was preceded by a 1-day discussion of the market and democracy in a lecture program organized by the Institute for the International Working Class Movement. The introductory addresses were delivered by Dr Bogomir Kovac and Vladimire Gligorov, MA, while Dr Zarko Puhovski provided a critical review of their papers.

Kovac noted that introduction of commodity production is subversive in the structure of socialist society that now exists for at least two reasons. First, because it presupposes relative separateness between the legal and economic role of the state, and second, establishment of an autonomous social sphere in the form of what is called civil society. Instead of this kind of institution of socialist society, the division of political and economic power in such societies "proves that their concentration and centralization contradicts to a great extent the demand made in ideological terms for economic equality, political equality, and freedom, and that direct socialist democracy actually ends up in political inequality between the political elites and the powerless citizens and producers." Kovac then went on to say: "The perversity of our era is actually that the 'ideological mystification' of socialism is actually becoming 'social practice,' whereby the altogether definite distribution of political power is truly being mystified (a power that also includes 'political commodity production'), and thus sets up the self-management system within a strategy of power.... In Yugoslavia self-management has become a synonym of what is normative, institutional, and bureaucratic instead of taking as its point of departure the conception of self-regulation, independent initiative, autonomy, pluralism, and direct social action, which globally would have to decentralize the present concentration of social power to the advantage of the powerless social majority. Self-management, which in our country has gained political legitimacy, has always remained within the limits of institutional forms that could be mastered and the norms of formalized self-management ritual, while social movements have atrophied and attempts at automatic worker structuring (strikes...), at establishment of enterprise (management and 'collective enterprise') have always been given a 'negative' political and ideological rating. One of the problems is that the existing social system does not have built-in mechanisms either for the normal display of differing interests (which do not officially exist or are not legitimate insofar as they oppose the 'general will' of the vanguard and its 'demiurge' of history) nor the basis for institutionalizing socioeconomic and political conflicts and methods of resolving them."

Coexistence

Zarko Puhovski was interested in the importance of these alternatives to the individual's destiny—it is clear even from what was presented by Gligorov, along with the conclusion that the choice between the market and democracy on the one hand and the forms of the collective way of life on the other is actually an ideological choice in which there is no room for the facts. But, Gligorov says, "ideological divisions and assessments are not the essence of social development. Today it is possible to see the outlines of the evolution of a mixed policy in which along with the market form for economic activity and democratic policy, there could exist capitalism on the market for capital and socialism on the labor market. Certainly the existence of four elements offers the possibility of an immense number of combinations, and that is in fact why a mixed policy is needed."

One of the things that Puhovski said concerning the two papers was that for the individual the market signifies an opportunity to work out his survival through competition, and that through competition as a policy principle a man becomes a

principal by impressing himself on the environment. Actually, it turns out that without competition there is neither motivation nor efficiency. However, when it is said that any political optimality is less than the optimality of the market, this means, in view of the fact that socialism has meant the insertion of intelligence in order to prevent the negative effects of the market, a leap out of the socialist tradition and a turn toward a new type of community. The main problems arise here from the imposition of the political sphere, so that one gets a society in which, and Puhovski regards this as the essence of the Law on Associated Labor, reproduction of existing relations takes on decisive importance, and it is not a bad thing if by the way the producers also make some shoes. There is no place for the individual in such a concept; in it every individuality is like a time bomb--and that is true, in Puhovski's assessment, over the entire range from Stalin to Kardelj's lines of development of the political system." Therefore, only liberalization of the political sphere makes it possible to implement the concept which the introductory speakers in this lecture program were talking about.

As to Statism

Finally, since this article does not purport to be a verbatim record of the conferences, we should cite at least two remarks made by Dr Svetozar Stojanovic. For instance, that socialism has gone furthest in the capitalist countries, both because of the economic and political level that has been attained, and also because of the separateness of the civil society from the government. Stojanovic went on to argue that we do away with variations of statist system and adopt a simple definition of statism. The reference here is to a grouping which has a structural monopoly of control over the government and through it over the means of production. This power is far greater than the conventional power of the ruling class; that is in fact the reason why it is not realistic to expect statism to reform itself. That would mean rising up against itself; that is, it would signify revolution. It is irresponsible, then, to conceal from the public the fact that there are no chances of such a revolution, while there are chances for liberalization, since experience shows that it is possible to fall from here into a still more repressive system. Again, in analyzing the sources of statism it is naive to dwell on the observation that the one-party system exists, since, Stojanovic says, there are also ordinary secretaries who belong to the party. Power is in the hands of the party apparatus, while the rank and file affords ties with the people, which is only one of the characteristics of sociopolitical formations, by contrast with capitalism, which is a socioeconomic formation.

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DJILAS CRITICIZED FOR ACTIVITIES, VIEWS

Belgrade INTERVJU in Serbo-Croatian 22 May 87 pp 8-10

[Article by Marko Lopusina: "The Rose-Colored Dreams of Milovan Djilas"]

[Text] For 34 years now Milovan Djilas, known as Djido or Miso, has been concerned in various ways with the ruination of Yugoslavia and communism, which at one time he said would disappear after the year 2000. This fixed idea of his has often changed both its face and its fleece. Some people have called this flexible theory, others have called it lies. "Compliments" like this did not prevent Milovan Djilas this spring from appearing with his revamped ideological repertoire on the political and entertainment circuit of the Old Continent. As soon as he got his passport, Djilas went off to London to visit his son Aleksa, who in 1983 left Yugoslavia in order to take his daddy's side. The departure from the country of "eastern Europe's greatest dissident after Sakharov" after a period of 17 years did not pass without response in political circles and the world public. For a segment of public opinion and professional political arbiters this was a sign of "democratization of conditions in Yugoslavia and of possible rehabilitation of the best-known Yugoslav writer"; for others this was only an echo of the Soviet "restructuring" and change of attitude toward Sakharov. For the custodians of human rights in London this was an opportunity to award to Djilas once again the title of "victim of oppression," and for many others an occasion to turn the microphone over to him.

The Reluctant Moderate

The "leading light and fighter for freedom of the East" made his first public appearance in 1987 in Rome in mid-April. With a group of eastern dissidents and members of Italy's Communist and Socialist parties Djilas took part in a lecture series entitled "Eastern Europe in the Gorbachev Era" which had been organized by the Italian Socialists and the Foreign Press Association. He was announced as the "most distinguished foreign invitee and as the only dissident who can go back home," but he was given lukewarm applause and the leader of this meeting remarked that Djilas "was not as lucid as before."

First the paper which Djilas had submitted on relations in the USSR and the East European community was read in Italian, and then this "special guest" spoke in English about the situation in our country. In his opinion, self-management is not in crisis in Yugoslavia, since it never in fact had any

particular role in this country's development since it was a mere response to Stalinism, and then became ideologized and bureaucratized, but rather it is the one-party system created by the LCY's monopolism that is in crisis. He also said that today there are two kinds of pluralism in Yugoslavia (the pluralism of the republics and that of the intelligentsia) and that our country has an occasion to extricate itself from the totalitarian and dictatorial system if it introduces the multiparty system through a "technical solution to this problem."

Not so long ago Milovan Djilas was boasting that the idea of self-management was a splendid one and how it was germinated first in his own head. He now renounces it even publicly. In the early eighties he said in a militant disposition that Yugoslavia should be brought down by massive strikes and civil war. Today he favors a peaceful and "technical" solution to this problem. It is obvious that Djilas has betrayed himself once again. European reporters from this meeting said that Milovan Djilas was "soft," since he had allegedly promised the Yugoslav authorities that that is what he would be. Italian newspapermen, however, acknowledge that the organizers of this lecture series in Rome asked the Yugoslav dissident to be moderate and to speak in rose-colored tones in order to preserve the status of a legal opposition.

Djilas' hosts in Vienna in early May were the Political Academy of the People's Party and the Schwarzenberg Forum, i.e., an association of industrialists. In the international series of lectures on the topic "Reform of World Communism" Milovan Djilas was introduced to about 400 people as a "striking figure in contemporary history" and as a "critic of the regime." He spoke about Austria and the south Slavs and their natural linkage, emphasizing the thesis that Yugoslavia's economic isolation and political distance from Austria and Italy constitute one of the essential causes of the crisis of the Yugoslav system and that only bringing our country closer to western Europe can save it from "East Europeanization."

This is not the first time that Milovan Djilas has offered himself as Yugoslavia's saviour. Following Tito's death, he said that our country would be caught up by an immense wave of liberalism and that this would be the first step of Yugoslavia's rapprochement to the West. Relying today on the fear of communism, like a Cold War propagator of an invasion of Sovietism, Djilas is actually trying to court his own Maecenases and assure himself a place in the anticommunist campaign. His appearance in western Europe was accompanied in Rome, for example, by the organization of two more lecture programs in which Yugoslav "dissidents" Vlada Milunovic and Mihailo Mihajlov participated. In Vienna Djilas' old publisher arranged an exhibition of these "collected works." Whereas certain of the media simply scramble to get to him, Djilas gave interviews without any kind of selection to serious agencies (RAI, BBC) and dailies (REPUBLICA, AVANTI) and to conservative newspapers (DIE PRESSE, WELT), and to religious magazines (AVENIRE), representing himself as a "prophet who was not listened to" and also to the yellow press (KNOCK MAGAZINE) as a true show-biz star. Presumably in order to be as convincing as possible, on this occasion Djilas once again used the black tones to paint the future of Yugoslavia and communism in these interviews. At the beginning of the next century, runs his view, there will be only four independent states on the soil occupied by our

country: Croatia, Serbia, Slovenia, and Macedonia. Kosovo, for example, will be a part of Albania. (Certain nationalists have been preaching much the same thing.) Incidentally, communism is on its deathbed; this is an ideology without a future. The culmination of everything uttered by this "old man of European communism," as he was represented in the newspaper DOMENICA DEL CORRIERE, paraphrasing a Western politician, is that communism and national socialism are one and the same thing--a totalitarian regime.

Thus a man who fought for freedom, who believed in communism, has spit upon our revolution and represented the National Liberation Struggle to the public as an atrocity, as indeed he has in many of his writings. Djilas represents himself as a disappointed and former Communist, as a democrat and revolutionary in a country where revolution has been people's misfortune (as he refers to it), but also as a loyal citizen of that same country. He forgets, however, that in that same country he at one time persecuted the intellectuals and for a time was an arbitrary judge in Montenegro.

Even though he has again offered his services in this direct way to Western conservatives, rightwingers, and anti-Communists, on his European tour Milovan Djilas also tried to court certain nationalities and their leaders. In Vienna, for example, speaking as a witness and one of the leaders of the National Liberation Struggle, he said of Waldheim that he was a "tiny and unnoticed little wheel" in the German Army. He declared to the German newspapers that the Germans were a "great nationality," and he said of Gorbachev that he was an offspring of the New Class and that the Soviet people stand behind him. For those who perhaps are not familiar with Djilas, it is worth mentioning only that at one time he said of that same Soviet people that it was a "lower race that used a bowl in cutting hair." Incidentally, that is what he has always been. At one time he wrote an ode to Stalin, and then he became an anti-Stalinist. When he was in prison in 1961 he wrote a petition to the Federal Executive Council containing a promise that once he left the Sremska Mitrovica Criminal House of Correction he would not "undertake any political activity whatsoever that would be contrary to the law of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia," and he signed it. As soon as he was free, he said that that paper had been put off on him personally by Slobodan "Krcun" Penezic, head of the police, and that this was all a forgery of the most ordinary kind, although his signature was authentic.

Ideological Playback

Djilas is a man who has also courted defenders of human rights, representing himself as a victim of socialist repression, although at the same time he closes his eyes to the fate of people on American reservations or to the sufferings of the West German "peaceniks" and intellectuals. He can reproach Yugoslavia and Yugoslavs with everything under the sun, but he is quite careful what he says about Western democracy, since not only his fee, but even perhaps his future tour, depends on every public statement he makes. His Austrian publisher reproached him at one time for contacts with a scholarly institution in Switzerland known to be financed with a subsidy from the American CIA. That publisher in an independent country, however, was not bothered when his "prolific writer" also wrote for publishers in the dictatorial regime in Chile and

for extremist terrorist organizations of the anti-Yugoslav emigre community in London. The most important thing for him is that the man who says he has settled accounts with Stalin, Lenin, Marx, and Tito sell as many books as possible all over the world. The pamphlet "Association With Tito" has been published in some 50 countries.

The objective Western public, and serious English critics familiar with Yugoslav reality most of all, have not been taken in by Djilas' playback neither before nor now. People simply cannot believe a man who during 1980 alone, following Tito's death, issued 25 interviews to world newspapers, a man of whom British commentators say that he is "unable to gain any sizable number of followers in his own country in spite of a fair amount of support among intellectuals, since at one time he was a hard-boiled Stalinist, and so his appeals for democracy fail to be answered." After the book "Association With Tito" came out, the reputable *OBSERVER*, for example, wrote that this collection of memoirs, feature articles, and potboilers "have more to say about Djilas than about Tito," that Milovan Djilas is an "'artist manque' who never managed to take the true measure" of his leader and who in his direct analyses of Tito's nature "stumbles and falls into contradictions and inaccurate arguments." He also received similar reproaches from a segment of the Italian, Swedish, and Finnish press, which noted that his book is actually a case of the author's vanity and ambition.

A Pointless Race

On this occasion the Hamburg weekly *ZEIT* was the most frank in its criticism of Djilas' repertoire; it wrote that the Yugoslav dissident "lacks political mobility, flexibility, system, and fantasy" and that his "rejection of any sort of flexibility in the communist system is both absurd and absolute." It is also notable that a goodly segment of the Western press, because of that obvious political travesty, has recently avoided presenting Djilas exclusively as a political figure. Once known as "Tito's heir," he now has the status of a free-thinking dissident and above all a writer. Djilas has on several occasions been represented either accidentally or intentionally as the "most popular Yugoslav writer," one who has been denied the right to pursue the literary profession in his own country. That position was taken last year in a meeting of the Conventions Committee of UNESCO by the American attorneys A. Jong and S. Kolb, while this February the British foreign minister put the question of Djilas' status to our government.

Since our representative in UNESCO replied that Djilas had not been prohibited from pursuit of the literary profession and that the printing of his writings depends on the wishes and interests of publishers, one gets the impression that Djilas and his foreign sponsors have decided to use literature for him to gain access to the domestic public scene. The insistence on printing histories and memoirs might also represent a taking of the pulse of the broad Yugoslav public, especially today at a time when quite a bit is being written about rehabilitation in a segment of our press. It seems that the most important thing to Djilas as a correspondent of the emigre community, of anti-Communists, and of the right, is to be politically present in this manner.

The word "djilas" has this meaning in the popular tongue: a runner, a jumper. To whom will Djilas run tomorrow and offer his services, that is something we still do not know with confidence. As he himself says, he intends to visit Bonn as well this spring. In London he reached agreement with the emigre community concerning the printing of his books. It is said that he will even go to Moscow.

Nothing is impossible when Djilas is involved. He belongs to whoever pays the most.

[Box, p 9]

The Man Who Does (Not) Exist

Anonymity has always been the greatest opponent of Djilas' ego. For instance, as soon as he felt that the Yugoslav Government was not interested in him, he came to a lecture program at the Belgrade Social Sciences Institute without an invitation. In just 1 month this spring he gave 11 interviews to foreign agencies and journalists. In one of them he complained loudly that he "...is a nonexisting person in Yugoslavia...." These interviews, which are almost identical, were one of the ways for Djilas to reaffirm his political personality, although he represented himself most frequently as a writer to the foreign journalists and to public opinion.

Milovan Djilas is 75 years old. He lives on a Yugoslav pension and (un)taxed royalties from abroad in foreign currencies. He lives with his wife Stefanija in central Belgrade. In that apartment Djilas has in recent years received foreign correspondents, like-minded Yugoslavs, and friends of the family freely without any interference whatsoever. At one time when Mario Pereira, member of the Directorate of the Social Democratic Party of Portugal visited our country on the invitation of the SAWPY, he visited and greeted Milovan Djilas. The result of that meeting was an article by Djilas published 6 February of this year covering an entire page of Portugal's most-read daily DIARIO DE NOTICIAS.

At the end of 1986 Djilas submitted to NOLIT the manuscript of his short story "The Leper," and to Narodna Knjiga his memoirs "Wartime," which it appears will be published. In his "literary workshop" Rastko Zakić last year published a book entitled "Djilas--sukob literata i ideologa" [Djilas--Conflict Between the Man of Letters and the Ideologue]. In the meantime Djilas has received treatment for his ailing heart in a Belgrade hospital just like any other Yugoslav citizen. So, nothing has been denied this man.

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MOSCOW MILITARY DISTRICT DELEGATION VISITS WARSAW**Delegation Led by Arkhipov Arrives**

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 26 May 87 p 5

[Article by Captain Jerzy Kempa: "Delegation from the Moscow Military District Begins Visit to the Warsaw Military District -- Friendship and Brotherhood in Arms"]

[Text] (Own information) Soldiers of the capitol military districts of the USSR and Poland have been bound by sincere friendship and brotherhood in arms for years. These feelings have been expressed in joint field exercises by the troops of the fraternal military districts during exercises of the allied armies of the Warsaw Pact and also in visits of official military delegations.

The strengthening of the internationalist ties of friendship and peaceful brotherhood in arms was also served by the visit started on 25 May by a delegation from the Moscow Military District which will for 5 days be the guests of the troops of the Warsaw Military District. The delegation is being led by the commander of the Moscow Military District, Colonel General Vladimir Arkhipov.

The Soviet guests were warmly greeted by the commander of the Warsaw Military District, General of Arms Jerzy Skalski. The welcoming ceremonies at Okocie Airport were also attended by Colonel General Vladimir Sivenok, the Supreme Commander of the Warsaw Pact United Armed Forces' representative to the Polish Army, and Colonel Aleksandr Tenenov, the naval and air military attache to the Soviet Embassy in Warsaw.

In the company of representatives from the Warsaw Military District, the Soviet guests paid homage to the Polish and Soviet soldiers fallen on the fronts of World War II by laying a wreath of flowers in front of the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier and the Cemetery for Soldiers of the Soviet Army.

On Monday, the delegation visited the headquarters of the Warsaw Military District where they learned about the history, traditions, achievements and

current training of the district's troops. In the afternoon, the Soviet comrades visited historical places and buildings in Warsaw. They were very interested in the city's past and especially in its reconstruction from its wartime ruins.

Inspects Airborne, Internal Defense Units

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 27 May 87 p 7

[Article by Captain Jerzy Kempa: "Visit of the Delegation from the Moscow Military District -- Among Paratroops and Highland Troops"]

[Text] On the second day of its visit to the troops of the Warsaw Military District, our guests from the Moscow Military District's delegation visited the paratroops of the 6th Pomeranian Air-Landing Brigade. They were familiarized with the history of the brigade's creation and with its contemporary training tasks by the commander, Colonel January Komanski. During exercises at a training center, the "red berets" demonstrated their skills. The art of combat was presented by the troops led by Lt Romuald Dolego, Lt Krzysztof Bozzkowski, Capt Krzysztof Klys, 2nd Lt Jerzy Gut, Lt Edward Gruszko and other commanders. A group of paratroopers under the command of Maj Mieczyslaw Bienek, a delegate to the 10th PZPR Congress, demonstrated their mastery in air landings.

A break in the exercises provided an opportunity for the commander of the Warsaw Military District, General of Arms Jerzy Skalski, and the commander of the Moscow Military District, Colonel General Vladimir N. Arkhipov to have a frank talk with training masters such as Cpl Cezary Bolbot and Staff Sgt Pawel Kozlowski about training and service conditions.

General Arkhipov sincerely congratulated the paratroopers for their courageous activities and the best among them, Cpl Krzysztof Grelo, Staff Sgt Arkadiusz Zycho and Bombardier Robert Ptak were distinguished with a set of medals for leaders of service in the Moscow Military District.

That same day, the Soviet guests visited the highland unit of the Air Defense Troops where they were warmly welcomed by members of the ZSMP [Union of Polish Socialist Youth] and employees of the unit. The Soviet delegation then visited the billets of a small unit commanded by Maj Tadeusz Kus where they observed the daily routine, training and service of that unit. A beautiful parade muster was presented by a highland orchestra and soldiers from the subunit of Lt Marek Kaczmarek. The Soviet comrade expressed their recognition of the achievements of this meritorious unit by signing the memorial book in the tradition hall and by gifts to the best soldiers. The commander presented his worthy guests with highland hats.

In the company of Krakow Mayor Tadeusz Salwa and Secretary of the Krakow PZPR Committee Wladyslaw Kaczmarek, the delegation visited Wawel Castle and the V.I. Lenin Museum.

Tribute was paid to Krakow's liberator during World War II, Marshall Ivan Koniev.

Views Mechanized Unit Live-Fire Exercises

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 28 May 87 p 5

[Article by Captain Jerzy Kempa: "Visit from the Delegation of the Moscow Military District -- On the Field with the T. Kosciuszko 1st Motor-Rifle Division and Rocketry Troops"]

[Text] On Wednesday, 27 May, a Moscow Military District delegation led by Colonel General Vladimir N. Arkhipov visited a training field where they observed exercises of several subunits of various specializations.

A fragment of the tactical and fire exercises with live-firing by troops of the T. Kosciuszko 1st Motor-Rifle Division included combined-arms combat actions between infantry, artillery, tank and helicopter units. The bravado attack of the subunit led by Lt Jan Kukier was highly praised by the Soviet guests. A well-deserved word of recognition was also received by Cpl Marek Gronkowski, Staff Sgt Jerzy Konopko, Staff Sgt Zbigniew Machnikowski and Sgt Zbigniew Savicki who successfully destroyed a target on the firing range.

The Moscow Military District's delegation also visited the training fields of the same rocketry troops that had received high marks during firing exercises conducted last year in the USSR. The Soviet guests were familiarized with the course of exercises and training goals by Capt Roman Jastrzebski. In conversations with bombardiers M. Sierakowski, G. Zywicki and K. Nosek, subordinates of Lt Tomasz Kubiatowski who were present at last year's live-fire exercises in the USSR, General Arkhipov and his companions talked about training troops to achieve mastery of the art of combat, discipline, use of free time, life in the civilian community and interests.

The Palace of Artillery Tradition. A showcase containing a standard created for the unit by the Council of Ministers holds a place of honor among exhibits and memorabilia. Staff Sgt Jaroslaw Tyszkiewicz, a service leader decorated with the "Exemplary Soldier" medal was the honor guard. The Soviet guests listened attentively to information about the artillery traditions of the Warsaw Military District and the units that are so eloquently represented in the rich exhibit. The Artillerists gave the commander of the Moscow Military District souvenirs made by the troops themselves and General Arkhipov congratulated the troops of the Kosciuszko 1st Motor-Rifle Division and the rocket artillery for their high degree of skill and distinguished a group of training leaders including Lt Col Slawomir Maj, Bombardier Mieczyslaw Sierkowski and Dariusz Cichy.

Visit Ends With Ceremony, Entertainment

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 29 May 87 p 4

[Article by Captain Jerzy Kempa: "Visit from the Delegation of the Moscow Military District -- Demonstration of Troop Training -- Friendship and Brotherhood in Arms Rally in the 1st Motor-Rifle Regiment"]

[Text] Thursday was the last day of the Moscow Military District delegation's visit to the Warsaw Military District. The day began with a visit to the Signal Troops Higher Officer's School in Zegrze where the school commandant, Col Zbigniew Chruscinski, acquainted the guests with the 43-year history of the school, the process used to instruct cadets and its modern teaching facilities. The Soviet comrades also took great interest in the course of studies and the preparation of students for service in line units.

The same day, the delegation was also the guest of the Kosciuszko 1st Motor-Rifle Division where they visited the division staff and its hall of tradition at which they were informed about the glorious front-line history of the Polish Army's oldest combat formation and the present achievements and peacetime service of the division's troops. They also visited the W. Wysocki 1st Praga Motor-Rifle Regiment whose troops demonstrated their training. A subunit commanded by Lt Slawomir Surgiewicz and the district's military orchestra presented a parade muster and the troops of 2nd Lt Marek Drewniak demonstrated their excellent training, skillful fire, speed and courage during exercises on a tactical obstacle course. Tactical firing tests by a motorized unit were highly praised by our Soviet comrades at arms.

In sincere discussion with the exercising troops including Cpl Miroslaw Slowinski and Staff Sgt Andrzej Pietocha, the commander of the Warsaw Military District, General of Arms Jerzy Skalski, congratulated the division for its mastery of combat skills.

The division fired a salute in honor of the delegation of the Moscow Military District under Colonel General Vladimir Arkhipov. There was also a review of the Polish Army's Parade Company whose troops were dressed in the uniforms of all three branches of service. The review was led by Capt Jan Ciecka.

The culmination of the Soviet visit was a ceremonial friendship and brotherhood in arms rally with the 1st Motor-Rifle Regiment, a unit which was created and armed on the Oka River during World War II as part of the Soviet Army and which fought side by side with its Russian comrades from Lenino to victory in Berlin.

The Soviet guests entered the Kosciuszko Division Palace to the warm applause of the assembled troops, army employees, school youth and Boy Scouts. A playing of both the Polish and Soviet national anthems began the rally.

The rally was concluded with a playing of the "Internationale".

The Warsaw Military District's "Desant" Artistic Ensemble gave a performance during the rally.

ACTIVITIES OF BULGARIAN-WEST GERMAN BANK DESCRIBED

Sofia IKONOMICHESKI ZHIVOT in Bulgarian 3 Jun 87 p 9

[Interview with Ivan Dragnevski, president of Bulgarian Foreign Trade Bank and board member of the joint Bulgarian-West German Commercial Bank on the occasion of the formation of the latter bank; date and place not given: "Bulgaria-FRG Banking Cooperation Expands"]

[Text] A few days ago there was set up the first joint Bulgarian-West German commercial bank--"Bayerisch-Bulgarische Handelsbank" in Munich. To give our readers fuller information a representative of the editorial board of the newspaper IKONOMICHESKI ZHIVOT interviewed a board member of the newly established joint bank Ivan Dragnevski, president of the Bulgarian Foreign Trade Bank.

[Question] How was the idea of setting up the joint Bulgarian-West German bank arrived at and what were the preconditions and conditions for it?

[Answer] The establishment of the joint bank--"Bayerisch-Bulgarische Handelsbank"--was a natural result of the favorable development of foreign economic relations between the FRG and the Bulgarian People's Republic and the expanding cooperation based thereon between the banks of both countries, as well as of the traditional business relations and cooperation between the "Bayerische Vereinsbank" and the Bulgarian Foreign Trade Bank.

As is known, the FRG is one of the principal West European trading partners of the Bulgarian People's Republic. The volume of foreign commerce between the two countries in recent years has constantly grown and amounted in 1986 to about 2 billion West German marks, one-third of it with Bavaria. Bulgarian enterprises participate in 14 joint enterprises in the FRG.

Modern forms of economic cooperation between Bulgarian and West German firms and associations will increasingly find a place in the further implementation of foreign economic relations between the two countries. Seen against this background, both traditional good business contacts and cooperation in the banking sphere will be enriched by new forms. The constituent pact establishing the new joint bank was signed by both partners, "Bayerische Vereinsbank" and the Bulgarian Foreign Trade Bank, in October 1986.

[Question] Would you mind giving brief information about both partners?

[Answer] "Bayerische Vereinsbank" has fixed capital of 522 million West German marks and volumewise is one of the largest banking operations in the FRG. It should be noted that at present "Bayerische Vereinsbank--Munich" participates widely in a number of banks and firms in the FRG and outside the country. In the FRG alone it is a capital participant in 16 banks, the percentage of its participation varying from 25 to 100 percent. It has capital participation in 10 banking institutions outside the FRG. It is a shareholder in 17 financial companies in- and outside the country.

"Bayerische Vereinsbank" has foreign branches in London, New York, Tokyo, the Cayman Islands, Atlanta and Los Angeles. In addition, it has agencies in Athens, Tehran, Bahrein, Milan, Hongkong, Rio de Janeiro, Caracas, Johannesburg. It has two affiliate banks in Paris and Luxembourg.

The Bulgarian Foreign Trade Bank is a joint stock company, over 70 percent of whose capital is owned by the Bulgarian National Bank. During the period since its establishment in 1964 the Bulgarian Foreign Trade Bank has gained recognition as a banking institution for the implementation of state policy in the country's settlement and credit operations with foreign countries.

During the period that has elapsed the bank's capital and reserves have increased significantly, and the amount of its balance sheet more than fivefold. The bank participates actively in the international money and credit markets and has made a name for itself as a sought-for and reliable partner. It has its own agencies in Frankfurt, London, Paris and Vienna and an affiliate in Beirut in operation since 1966.

[Question] Would you mind explaining briefly the nature, role, purposes, near-and long-term functions of the bank?

[Answer] "Bayerisch-Bulgarische Handelsbank" is a joint Bavarian-Bulgarian commercial bank. It has a general-purpose character and will perform all types of banking operations, at the same time also seeking a definite specialization that will contribute to its recognition in the international foreign-exchange and credit markets.

The bank's functions are mainly to encourage trade between Bulgaria and the FRG by facilitating import and export transactions between the two countries through joint financing. Investments will be encouraged, new ways of cooperation and forms of banking activity for the creation of additional foreign-exchange resources will be opened up. In addition, "Bayerisch-Bulgarische Handelsbank" will become an information center on a number of questions relating to trade between the two countries.

Since a great number of enterprises are operating with Bulgarian participation outside the Bulgarian People's Republic, it is quite natural that one of the bank's functions should involve consulting with them and financing them.

[Question] Apart from its immediate and principal function of servicing trade between the Bulgarian People's Republic and the FRG, will the bank perform other functions as well, for example, in third countries?

[Answer] Through the agency of the new bank our country is endeavoring to assure itself a more immediate presence in the international foreign-exchange and credit markets and to create more favorable preconditions and conditions for implementing the cooperation of our economic and foreign-trade organizations with the firms of foreign countries. The Bulgarian Foreign Trade Bank will turn to account its trade experience and practice with the developing countries. On the basis of its wide trade and economic relations and its network of bilateral trade and payment agreements, the Bulgarian Foreign Trade Bank has built up considerable experience in operations with the banks of these countries which doubtless will benefit the new joint credit institution--"Bayerisch-Bulgarische Handelsbank."

[Question] For our readers it will be of interest for you to tell what the proportionate participation of the two countries is, what the bank's forms of administration are, as well as the partners' representation in the management.

[Answer] The bank's fixed capital amounts to 20 million West German marks--51 percent from "Bayerische Vereinsbank" and 49 percent from the Bulgarian Foreign Trade Bank, with decisions made unanimously. The administration and council of overseers will be headed up alternately by the partners.

During the first 3 fiscal years the chairman of the council of overseers of the new bank will be board member of "Bayerische Vereinsbank," Dr Arno [?Pullman]. He will then be replaced by the president of the Bulgarian Foreign Trade Bank. Juergen Boucher and Doncho Kyuchukov have been appointed heads of the Bavarian-Bulgarian Commercial Bank. We are convinced that the opening of "Bayerisch-Bulgarische Handelsbank" will justify the hopes of both partners. By its useful activity in the future the new joint bank will make its contribution to the further development of business relations between the banks, companies and firms of the Bulgarian People's Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany.

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WEAKNESSES IN SHIPBUILDING INDUSTRY OUTLINED

Sofia TEKHNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 30 May 87 p 3

[Article by Zheko Stanev, TEKHNICHESKO DELO Varna Okrug correspondent: "So Expensive a Facade for Little Pebbles and . . . the Ship--When Will We Turn Out Electronic Products and Equipment in a Nautical Version of the Necessary Quality?--Integrated Strategy among Designers, Shipbuilders and Shipowners Necessary --A Burning Topic for the Attention of the Electronics Association and the Shipbuilding Economic Trust"]

[Text] I have been present at almost all the flag raisings on ships built by the Georgi Dimitrov Shipyard in Varna since 1973. It was precisely during these years (the Sixth, Seventh and Eighth 5-Year Plans) that our merchant fleet grew most significantly with the commissioning of the 25,000- and 38,000-ton bulk-cargo ships and the "Stanko Staykov" and "Stoyko Peev" containerships. Invariably during the ceremony of delivering the register documents the shipyard representative who handed them over to the ship owner (a representative of the Bulgarian Sea Fleet Steamship Company), along with the other specifications, added ". . . automation class A-1 or A-2."

Explanation I

Automation class A-1 and A-2 means 16-hour zero-watch machine-room operation, and in the case of A-1 it means operation of the central control panel too, i.e., control and monitoring take place entirely automatically. And in both cases this means operation of the ship at full speed in the open sea, which for transport ships represents 90 percent of their steaming time.

Zero-watch operation requires systems for the remote starting, stopping, monitoring and command from the central control panel and bridge of all machinery in the machine room.

Stated otherwise, automation classes A-1 and A-2 assume the elimination of errors committed by the subject (human), while wide use of electronics makes possible system compactness and miniaturization, significantly easier servicing, a reduction in the number of crews, and improvement of labor conditions. As a specific effect of automation, labor productivity rises and makes the fleet competitive in the fierce battle in the world freight market in which we are participants and in which we have thus far won prestige as a maritime country.

Which is to say that whereas up until 10-15 years ago automation was only wishful thinking, today it is absolutely necessary.

Posed in this way, the question of ship automation takes on paramount significance, equal to such components as seaworthiness, speed, hull strength and stability, and an optimally devised propulsion system. And once planned, created and installed on board, it must perform its purpose reliably, for otherwise it not only hinders, but also adversely affects crew activity. Yet whereas navigation automation (radar sets, anticollision radar systems, gyrocompasses, automatic pilots, satellite navigation, communication systems) guarantees navigation safety, matters are not thus with automated ship powerplants. They not only hinder, but in a number of instances fail to provide ship reliability. Sailors know well, too, what this term means on the high seas when the "heart" of the ship, the machine room, fails. And it is precisely due to the low reliability of the automation of ships' powerplants (main engine, diesel-driven generators, fuel and oil separators, monitoring and warning systems--I list only some of the elements--Editor's Note) that crews have been compelled to give up using it. And whereas according to register documents 40 ships out of our merchant fleet (the most competitive) have class A-1 or A-2 automation, only six ships de facto--"Dimitrovski Komsomol," "Geo Milev," "Stanko Staykov," "Stoyko Peev" (with full crews) and "Georgi Grigorov" and "Yordan Lyutibrodski" (with reduced crews)--are operated in a zero-watch mode.

Is it not legitimate then to ask whether the investment of capital (a considerable part of it in a second direction) for systems that do not vindicate their purpose is economically justifiable and whether the shipowner is bound to pay for something that does not do the job?

These questions have their real and deeper meaning in the new conditions under which economic organizations exist as self-administering organizations when the principal criterion of their activity has become profitability. However, from being regional problems they have become problems of national significance for our economy, for shipbuilding is a strategic subsector of machine building, while 80 percent of our country's foreign commerce takes place, and significant foreign-exchange revenues are provided, through the ships of the Bulgarian Sea Fleet Steamship Company.

Discrepancies

Generalizing, we can classify them in several groups: designer errors in circuit solutions, low reliability of the electronics installed in the automated systems, inadequate skills of the personnel tending the systems, mistaken economies of the trade organization providing the component base, lack of servicing.

All this, however, can be reduced to two principal problems: establishment of a Bulgarian shipbuilding supply system, and lack of an integrated strategy among designers (Varna Shipbuilding Institute), shipbuilders (Shipbuilding Economic Trust) and shipowners (Bulgarian Sea Fleet Steamship Company).

But let us be systematic. I shall submit to the readers lines from a memorandum of Stefko Enev--chief mechanic of the Motorship "Aleko Konstantinov"--

relating to zero-watch ship operation: "The difficulties with automatic monitoring and warning systems I would break down into two groups according to their nature--design deficiencies and defects in the parts and materials put into them. This results in disruption of procedure, prescribed routine and the requirements of the regulations for technical operation, or of operational needs and requirements. Manual adjustment of part of the cycle or entire processes is indispensable. There are cases as well where the automation of some machinery ceased operating as a whole. Among the adverse consequences resulting from the elements employed I would count the showing up of defects in temperature-sensitive elements, magnetic valves, contactors, warning lights, thermostats, etc."

Here is the opinion of Milcho Mikhaylov, chief of the technical operations department of the Bulgarian Sea Fleet Steamship Company: "The automated ship systems employ elements of inadequate reliability. These are control modules, sensors, transformers, relays, contactors, temperature-control devices, etc., the service-life characteristics of many of them being several times lower than those of the integrated automation systems themselves."

I requested the Shipbuilding Institute to obtain the opinion of Engr Radko Chakurov, head of the Ship Automation Specialty. "I would not say that the designers are not doing their job well. Back in 1970 we did the full automation of the 6000-ton tankers built in our country for the Karlander firm of Norway with an imported component base. We were first in the CEMA system to employ class A-1 and A-2 automation on our ships. But many of our solutions, consistent with the leading world automation trends, cannot be implemented since the state of the art of the electronics intended for ship outfitting does not meet the necessary specifications. For the time being the quality of a number of products does not offer the necessary reliability and that is how it happens that the designer is the one who has to adjust and change. Moreover, the small series production and the specific conditions under which these electronic products will operate, requiring a suitable nautical version, require a minimum of 150 hours of work at the yard to guarantee product reliability."

Engr Georgi Pavlov, deputy chief director for technical affairs of the Bulgarian Sea Fleet Steamship Company, is categorical, too: "Claiming that you have an automated ship is not merely creating it and launching it on the water. A supply system, and a sound one at that, is needed to service it in operation, isn't it? The Motor Tanker 'Khan Asparukh' is automated, but where is its emergency warning system, where are its automated systems? Its control system has been approved and put into regular production. But where is the producer to produce for us spare circuit boards and modules, to set right the systems which are inoperative on some ships. What preventive measures and repairs of automation facilities can we speak of under shipboard conditions when the whole world is shifting to the modular principle with the elimination of malfunctions and the testing and self-testing of the systems at fault."

Explanation II

While this material was in preparation--and that took more than 2 months, some constructive suggestions were made by the Bulgarian Sea Fleet Steamship Company that will serve as a logical finale.

--A coordinating expert council should be set up with a definite statute and with the participation of specialists from the N. Y. Vaptsarov VNVMU [Higher People's Naval Academy], the VMEI [Higher Machine-Electrical Institute] in Varna, the Water Transport Institute in Varna, the Bulgarian Sea Fleet Steamship Company, the Bulgarian River Navigation Shipping Company in Ruse, the Georgi Dimitrov KZ [Shipyard], the "Odesos" Ship Repair Facility in Varna, the [several letters illegible] Pavlov Marine Machine-Building Plant in Varna, the Shipbuilding Institute, Koraboimpeks [Ship Import and Export], the Bulgarian Ship Register and a State Navigation Inspectorate--a council which shall discuss problems that arise in operations, shall discuss new plans and shall harmonize and coordinate procurements with a view to their standardization.

--The state commission for trials and acceptance of new ships shall mandatorily include an automation specialist from the Bulgarian Sea Fleet Steamship Company, who shall assess the state of automation in the zero-watch mode.

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CSO: 2200/111

ENTERPRISES CONTINUE PRODUCTION OF POOR-QUALITY GOODS

Sofia POGLED in Bulgarian 1 Jun 87 p 4

[Article by Barukh Shamiev, economic commentator of POGLED: "Quality above All--How Are We Changing?"]

[Text] State acceptance of output is beginning. This process involves product quality. And this for Bulgaria is fateful. The question was raised with particular pointedness in Comrade Todor Zhivkov's speech in Varna at the end of May 1983 to active figures in the party, state and economy. On 22 May of the following year the National Party Conference was held which adopted a National Quality Improvement Program. On the basis thereof, all ministries and economic organizations formulated their own programs. Later came the decision "On Qualitatively New Economic Growth," which stresses that this lofty goal cannot be achieved unless Bulgarian product quality measures up to world-standard quality.

Enough time has passed to become aware of, readjust to, and improve the economic mechanism with its incentives and penalties, as well as to update machinery and manufacturing processes.

Data show that the nonstandard output produced last year increased by more than 2.8 million leva over 1985. During the same time rejected metallurgical output increased by about 15 million leva--that is, 2 million leva more than the funds earmarked for the housing programs of the L. I. Brezhnev Metallurgical Enterprise, of the food processing industry, etc. Actually, some sectors have registered progress. Machine building in 1986 cut rejects by 500,000 leva from 1985, but hundreds of thousands of leva worth of nonstandard output continued to burden it.

There was progress in certified output even though the progress was not satisfactory. The difference between what was targeted in the plan and the report of commodity industrial output produced and rated with the state quality mark in the first 4 months of 1987 was barely larger than 0.6 percent.

The facts become alarming if we compare the rates at which output is produced with the rates at which nonstandard output has grown. In the first 4 months of 1987 the rate of produced industrial output that was attained was 4.4 percent. And the rate for nonstandard output? It increased twice as fast--9.8

percent! Thus, for example, Disk Storages Trust did not accomplish its 4-month plan at all, while, on the other hand, its nonstandard output exceeded 800,000 leva; for Svilena [Silk], plan fulfillment increased 0.4 percent, while non-standard output increased . . . 35.3 percent; Rila Trust increased its output 5.4 percent, and its nonstandard output . . . 300 percent!

In June 1984 the first World Quality Congress was held in Brighton (Great Britain). In its resolution the congress declared quality to be "the secret economic weapon of the modern world." It stated that at present price does not play as decisive a role in world trade as quality. Proceeding from the premise that defect is a technical category while consumers and business understand mainly "the language of money," the congress adopted a new economic indicator--quality value, which is measured by the rules "at the respective prices of the best quality." The Japanese delegation advised that their electronic products industry reports defects, not in percentages, but in millions of items.

In the United States every year there is a nationwide month's campaign under the slogan, "Quality First and Foremost!" The monetary prize, which is presented by the President, is insignificant, but the emblem that is earned and the right of the winning firm to print it on its products and to advertise it brings enormous profits and it is no accident that the corporations wage a "life and death" struggle for this right.

Of unquestionable interest are the answers to the questions: Why do our enterprises, trusts and associations have quality improvement programs, but real progress towards better goods is still unsatisfactory? If the fate of everyone of us depends on one economic indicator, if it is indeed the superkey to higher efficiency and qualitatively new growth, it is natural to expect it to rank foremost among all others. Do the profits of enterprises and the wages of the people doing the work depend on product quality? Hardly. Incentives and penalties for the good and poor products falling into the wage fund are scarcely noticeable. At present the economic mechanism is still so constructed that the social and financial status of the managers of enterprises, trusts and corporations, as well as of workers, is not particularly dependent on poorly produced or high-quality goods. The main thing by which their work is evaluated is the meeting of volume targets in kind or in profits, as the case may be. The leading team gets wages and bonuses for their fulfilled plan, for the performance of contracts, for the lowering of production cost, for the implementation of technical progress, for foreign-exchange sales, and somewhere at the bottom of the column comes quality. Obviously, the bonuses for the accomplishment of quantity indicators make up for the penalties for the nonaccomplishment of quality.

For the present the economic mechanism encourages the accomplishment of quantity, rather than quality indicators. This is the reason why enterprises and their managements have a personal interest in producing values (quantities, tons, volumes and meters), while society, on the contrary, has an interest in the production of goods with a social consumer utility, i.e., they should be reliable, long-lasting, and have useful properties, i.e., they should be high-quality. This is the real conflict between quantity and quality and it must be solved.

In the course of the checks that I have made, the directors of enterprises have suggested that a "leap in quality" cannot be made until the standards are updated. What do the facts show? At present, slightly more than 15,000 standards are in effect in our country. Of these, 6000 were adopted along CEMA lines and in the opinion of the specialists almost all are at world-class level. The standards for food products meet the international standards proposed by the World Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO). Nearly one-third of the other standards have been approved by the international standards association. What has been the outcome? Most of the standards are up to the mark, but the goods produced are not. There is no conflict. The trouble is that state standards are violated. "Economizing on quality" for many enterprises is one of the important latent reserves for meeting volume targets. Workers warn that shoes and boots come unglued. Directors reply in one voice that everything is according to the standards. The planning bodies know about the public reproach that products made out of second-quality yarn are being offered for sale as . . . first-quality. But in this way the balance sheets of materials and finances are brought into alignment, once more at the expense of quality.

The campaign for Bulgaria to find its place in the sun in international markets --and to maintain it!--involves great efforts. But those economic managers who think that this can be done by resuscitation of the Old delude themselves. The struggle for the highest quality of national output has its own logic as does every struggle--there will be winners, but there must also be losers. There is no third alternative.

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CSO: 2200/111

MINISTER NOTES DAMAGE TO FORESTS IN SLOVAKIA

AU010927 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 26 Jun 87 p 2

(*"Excerpt"* from a speech by Vladimir Margetin, minister of forestry and water management of the Slovak SR, at the sixth session of the Slovak National Council in Bratislava on 25 June)

[Excerpts] The area covered by forests has been continuously growing in the postwar period, owing to the delimitation [delimitace] of land unsuitable for large-scale agricultural production and to the afforestation of bare spots and other areas. Forests currently cover 1,954,761 hectares in the Slovak SR. Following nationalization, all these forests are in the use of state or cooperative organizations, with the exception of 75 hectares in Poprad District that are in the use of Polish citizens.

From the growing acreage of forests and large-scale afforestation also follow the growing inventories of timber. In the years of the Seventh 5-Year Plan alone, these inventories increased by 10 million cubic meters. On 1 January 1987 timber inventories totalled 310 million cubic meters. To be able to judge the volume of timber extraction, it is necessary to consider the important data on the inventories of the exploitable [rubny] forest vegetation. By the same date, these inventories totalled 74 million cubic meters, which means a decline by 4.2 million cubic meters in the course of the Seventh 5-Year Plan. This trend is a warning signal, urging us to bring timber extraction into harmony with the calculated exploitable assets.

Another major problem of the forest economy in Slovakia is the forests' continuously deteriorating state of health. The situation resulting from damage to the forest vegetation by industrial emissions is getting more and more serious.

According to ascertained data, some 280,000 hectares of forests, about 16 percent of their total acreage, are damaged in Slovakia at present. What gives rise to concern is particularly the fact that the emissions do not affect the forest ecosystems just directly, but that they also gradually weaken the forests physiologically. This is borne out by the annually increasing proportion of salvage cutting, which accounted on average for almost one-third of all timber extraction in recent years. The disruptive impact of civilization on the forest--of sulphur and nitrogen oxides and of heavy metals from local and remote sources of pollution alike--is profound and lasting.

The ecosystem of the forest on our territory has evolved over long centuries. Natural selection produced communities whose composition corresponded to the given climatic and soil conditions. Today we observe that these conditions are changing. We register not only the pollution of the atmosphere on a large scale, but also depreciation of the soil by the fallout of the pollutants. It is from these findings that we must proceed when trying to limit the negative impact of noxious factors on the forest. We do not passively wait how this development will continue, but--quite the contrary--are adapting our action to these changed conditions.

/8309

CSO: 2400/370

SLUGGISH APPROACH TO DIRECT LINKS CRITICIZED

AU251650 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 21 May 87 p 1

[Editorial: "Let Us Not Waste a Single Day..."]

[Excerpts] More than a year has passed since the approval of the "General Rules for Establishing Direct Links of CSSR Socialist Organizations With Organizations in CEMA Member States" and soon we will recall the first anniversary of their practical introduction. What have the preceding months contributed in this regard, what were they like?

There can surely be no doubt that the stimuli stemming from these rules have contributed to the intensification of cooperation between our organizations and organizations of other CEMA countries. The Polytechna foreign trade enterprise, for example, which is charged with the preparation and conclusion of contracts on scientific-technical cooperation, mediated in the years of the Sixth 5-Year Plan 200 such contracts between CSSR organizations and their partners in CEMA countries (which means an average of 40 contracts a year). In the years of the Seventh 5-Year Plan it mediated 643 contracts (an annual average of 129), last year as many as 204 contracts, and in the first half of this year alone it expects the conclusion of more than 250 contracts on scientific-technical cooperation between Czechoslovak organizations and their partners in CEMA countries.

However, many senior managers use the turn of speech "direct links" only because they think that it is en vogue. If that is the case they, naturally, do not get beyond the utterance of these words. We have had this experience repeatedly in the last few weeks when our staff journalists contacted officials of enterprises, which--according to information that we received--are establishing cooperation with some enterprises in a CEMA country. Many of the tip-offs simply did not work out. As we have been able to convince ourselves, the enterprises were and still are only in the stage of establishing cooperation. They are still waiting for this or that, for the approval or delivery of opinion of this one or that one.... But otherwise direct links are a splendid thing, they said, going into raptures about them.

Issues that remain unresolved domestically are being transferred to international cooperation--why should an organization seek to substantially enhance the efficiency of its activity by tapping prerequisites that are hidden

beyond our border if there is nothing that would force it in any meaningful way to make use of domestic ones?! [punctuation as published] A change in this situation must be brought about by the comprehensive experiment in enhancing the autonomy of economic organizations and their responsibility for an efficient development and, primarily, by the implementation of the "Principles on Restructuring the CSSR Economic Mechanism." However, we must not wait for the principles to be itemized in the form of regulations and orders on their execution. We are familiar with the creed of a number of artists of world renown that a day in which they did not create anything was a lost one. And what about the economy--is it not just as important, or even more important, for the nation than the artistic self-realization of a writer or a painter?! Is it not so that a day which is not used to increase the productivity and efficiency of labor is wasted and, from the viewpoint of development, even a step back?!

CPSL agencies and organizations, too, must devote greater attention than they have done so far to the utilization of potentials provided by the general rules for establishing direct links. This task arises from the congress and it was also recalled in the Report of the CPSL Central Committee Presidium at the 30 March session of the CPSL Central Committee.

The essence of direct links must not be perceived as something which is opposed to the utilization of the services of specialized foreign trade organizations. Although the "rules" provide for direct foreign trade activity of organizations in justified cases, it would be more advantageous for enterprises that are only beginning or which will conclude only one or only a few contracts to use the services of Polytechna. Indeed, it would be. But as practice shows, this enterprise is not adequately prepared for cooperation with socialist states. For example, it is short of staff specializing in this area.

In the international socialist economic cooperation as a whole it is necessary to work more purposefully and flexibly and with an eye on the future. After all, direct links are only the beginning of a new and qualitatively higher stage of cooperation among socialist countries. They presuppose and simultaneously generate new forms and methods of work, restructuring in the Council, the solution of the currency aspects of economic cooperation, joint enterprises.... We are faced with a lot of work and every unused day is a wasted day.

/8309
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CRYSTALEX SAID OPERATING UNDER REFORM RULES

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 23 May 87 p 1

[Article by Eva Sadilkova and Zdenek Hoffmann: "They Are Learning to Think Economically"]

[Text] Two and a half months passed since our last visit in the Crystalex economic production unit in Novy Bor. The employees of this VHJ [economic production unit] are among the first in our republic to learn to work and also to think according to new regulations. They are learning greater independence and also greater responsibility.

Toward the end of February, when the Directives for the Implementation of the Comprehensive Experiment with Greater Independence and Responsibility for an Efficient Development of Economic Organizations were approved, all they had to do was to resolve specific stipulations of the work standard and to conclude agreements with the Skloexport foreign trade enterprise and with the Czechoslovak State Bank. Because Crystalex had begun preparations for the experiment with a notable headstart, nothing prevented it from gradually introducing it in its enterprises and factories, and from implementing the principles--and this is the most challenging task--up to the basic accounting units, i.e., operation, shops and separate workplaces.

They Met with Understanding

Eng J. Novotny, an economist of the Crystalex VHJ, acquainted notwith the situation as it developed in March and April: "The contract with the Skloexport foreign trade enterprise was concluded to mutual satisfaction. Our organization will share in the decisionmaking about the basic pricing and financial issues, such as the terms of collection, terms of payment, or prices. A new element here is an agreement about personal material incentives to Skloexport employees for the results of transactions, in other words, based on profits from the sales of the products of our VHJ. This will motivate the employees of the PZO [foreign trade enterprise] to achieve the best possible conditions, which naturally is also to our advantage and the benefit of our whole national economy. The premiums paid to the Skloexport employees for the fulfillment of the planned volume and efficiency of exports are predetermined."

Comrade J. Novotny praised the initiative and the realistic approach of the representatives of the Czechoslovak State Bank. The agreement about 5-year credit contracts was concluded in a very short time; furthermore, the issue of credits covering the period from the production to collection was also settled. Progress was achieved in the negotiations on wholesale and retail price-setting, with the purpose of bringing them close to the world level. The manufacturer, i.e., Crystalex, is not trying to obtain advantages from higher prices. That is not the intention of this VHJ and moreover, the situation in foreign and domestic markets, which are quite saturated with this kind of goods, does not permit it. In fact, the customers are buying only interesting and attractive merchandise. For that very reason the Crystalex and the Industrial Goods Trade Corporation in Prague signed an agreement on the so-called flexible price-setting, which will not raise prices but rather adjust them according to the customers' interest and to the demand for specific goods in the market. This should cut the prices of merchandise that is not in demand and conversely, raise prices of top-quality, handmade and labor-intensive products.

Specifications for Enterprises and Factories

Furthermore, a significant shift took place in the specifications of internal regulations for the experiment within the VHJ. Already in mid-March its enterprises and factories received specifications of the plan which emphasized above all precise stipulation of the starting point for all manufacturing organizations, and objective assessments of the profit-making opportunities open to those organizations. By the same token, conditions for wage control were set for individual enterprises and factories. These two issues were decisive for the processing of accounts balancing the resources and the needs--on which the experiment in the VHJ is based.

As of 1 July the experiment should proceed full speed ahead in this VHJ. Before that date funds must be redistributed. As Comrade J. Novotny assessed the situation: "We do not have everywhere opportunities for self-financing. And we neither can nor want economically to liquidate less profitable enterprises. However, before the end of this 5-year plan all of them must be self-supporting." Obviously, already with gradual implementation of the experiment it will be necessary to adjust and continuously improve its factors. And thus, work has not ended even for the general directorate; only the first stage was completed.

Specifications of the regulations for the experiment for individual khozraschet centers will pose additional tasks--and they will not be few.

Continuity of Production Improved

Factory 01 in Novy Bor reports the first specific achievements stemming from the implementation of the experiment in production. The experiment called for better labor organization and for changes in the management; when that was done, the continuity of production improved. Special Saturday shifts and overtime rush work at the end of every month were eliminated. Nevertheless, as we were told by Miroslav Schlenker, the

chairman of the factory ROH [Revolutionary Trade-Union Movement] committee, who has been working here for nearly 30 years as glassmaker, workers accepted this decision reluctantly. Not all of them are enthusiastic about it and not all of them are happy, mainly because without overtime their wages declined. In the past when they were working overtime, they were earning more, and thus, many of them do not like the current situation.

We asked Jiri Zeman, deputy economic director of the factory, to explain the situation. He said: "Although the average monthly wage is down, under the new management system the difference will be made up to workers by individual premiums. However, their distribution will be differentiated and naturally, the best workers will make more money. After all, this is what we are concerned about in the new system of management."

A new scale of premiums for workers' trades is not being completed in the factory. All those who are drafting the scale of premiums realize that one thing in it must be made clear. Premiums may be reduced only in instances which the worker himself may affect. In case of the Crystalex workers it means mostly instances when the finished work is not of high quality and if the work time has not been appropriately utilized.

Nevertheless, Comrade Jiri Zeman is pleased that the workers in shops are becoming interested in economy. That is unprecedented. In the past when the engravers did not get semifinished products, they would relax and take it easy, but now they come and ask about the fulfillment of the plan, about the order, and about the interest in their products in domestic and foreign markets; they urge the foremen to remedy the problem immediately and to keep the work and the supplies and other raw materials flowing. The glass-workers themselves are searching for ways to reduce waste. For example, they prepared several molds and on the basis of the shape of the vitreous mass they decide how to use it. In other words, they are beginning to think in economic terms.

After all, this precisely is the objective of the new mechanism of management and economy because the main thing is that people really participate in every operation in the enterprise, that they be interested in everything and demonstrate initiative which is a real contribution to our society; that everyone, be he a weaver, miner, an employee of a service organization, or a glassworker, realize that the standard of his work affects our common achievement.

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FRG STUDY ON TECHNOLOGICAL ADVANCE, LIMITATIONS

Cologne DEUTSCHLAND ARCHIV in German Vol 20 No 5, May 87 [signed to press 27 April 87] pp 502-515

[Article by Dr Wolfgang Stinglwagner, member of the research staff at the Gesamtdeutsches Institut in Bonn: "The GDR in Technology Competition: Progress Achieved--Technical, Economic and Social Restrictions"]

[Text] 1. Signals from World Markets

In some of its industrial model enterprises, the advances the GDR has made progress in modernizing its production are impressive even on an international scale. To meet growing Soviet demands for quality and to hold its ground against stiff competition in international markets, the GDR, because of its paucity in rawmaterials and export dependence, must modernize its export industry both in terms of process engineering and product quality. Hence it is important to expand the innovative models, that have been introduced in some selected enterprises, to as many areas as possible in the GDR industry.

Earlier than most of the other CEMA countries leaders, the GDR leadership recognized the need to ensure that the desired economic growth on the basis of its hardly growing rawmaterial and labor supply must be accomplished by way of innovative advances.¹ However, so far, the lack of capital goods, among other things, has made it impossible to apply this strategy to broad areas of the economy with the required speed.

In recent years, the economy's rawmaterial and energy consumption could be significantly restricted through mostly administrative measures.² However, this rationalization strategy, which will have to continue in the future as well, can no longer be implemented through specific measures such as the allocation of energy to industry. Instead, prospects for success of this strategy of intensive (resource-saving) economic growth will largely depend on whether the GDR will be able to expand the above-mentioned examples of technological models to larger areas of its economy. Apart from the lack of capital goods, this undertaking faces technical, economic and social restrictions; the future growth of the GDR and particularly its success in exporting will depend, to a large extent, on whether or how fast these limitations can be overcome.

The GDR claims to be the world's sixth-largest producer and third-largest exporter of machine tools.³ However, it is difficult to verify these claims since, in this sector as well, a large volume of GDR exports is shipped to the USSR and it is hard to compute the quality and actual quantity of these supplies in exact figures because of the different price structures in Eastern and international markets. So far, the GDR has supplied more than 300,000 machine tools to more

than 60 countries.⁴ And of the more than 90 percent of GDR production, which is exported, about half is shipped to non-CEMA countries.

All the more depressing is it for the GDR to see warning signals in world markets for its machine tool exports. Estimates compiled by the UN Economic Commission for Europe (ECE) of all mechanical engineering exports to the East and West, indicate that the GDR plays an important role in international markets. In that sector, it does not rank third among the largest exporting nations--as in the case of machine tools--but follows the FRG, Japan, Italy and Switzerland in fifth place. That, however, does not change the fact that over the past two decades, the GDR has lost ground in world markets. Its market share in machinery and equipment declined from 9.0 percent in 1966 and 10.9 percent in 1976 to currently less than 7 percent. On the other hand, in 1976, it temporarily ranked second in the world---following the FRG.⁵

A major reason for this loss in position is the fact that it has become increasingly more difficult in recent years for the GDR's over-centralized planning system to adjust with the necessary flexibility and speed to the rapidly changing demand trends in international markets. Not only the GDR, but also CEMA overall, have suffered a decline in their international market share for mechanical engineering products in the first half of the 1980's.

The export-oriented combines do in fact play an important role in helping finance GDR rawmaterials imports from the USSR. However, despite some partial success, exports in these sectors to Western countries have not been sufficiently large in recent years to earn the hard foreign exchange that is needed to reduce the debts of the GDR with the West. Only through the comprehensive reexport of mineral-oil products, combined with clever debt management, has the GDR leadership been able to solve its external economic problems in recent years.⁶ However, the sharp decline in the price of mineral oil for more than a year has once again demonstrated that, although the reexport of mineral-oil products is useful in short-term debt crisis management, it is not a sound basis for future exports of a developed industrial country.

But a look at the conditions, under which new technologies--such as CAD/CAM systems and flexibly automated manufacturing units--must be introduced in the machine tool industry and other sectors of the GDR industry, shows the "home-made" problems that stand in the way of a more dynamic development of GDR exports.

2. Introduction of CAD/CAM Systems

For the past two years, the party leadership has, in all probability, hardly ever made an appeal for economic performance without mentioning the acronym "CAD/CAM." This abbreviation, adopted from Western terminology, has since become part of the vocabulary used in the GDR daily press. CAD is the acronym for "computer-aided design." CAM stands for "computer-aided manufacturing." CAD systems make it possible to carry out the technical-geometric information processing that is needed for the design, construction and technical presentation of products, with the help of computers. The task of CAM systems is to direct as comprehensively as possible, and hence automate, such technical functions of the production process as, for instance, the transport of components, machine supplies, and machine and equipment controls. A CAD/CAM system prepares CAD planning and design data in such a way that they can be used, by way of a computer network, to control a CAM-based manufacturing process.

As one of the much-cited key technologies, CAD/CAM is expected to contribute to GDR economy efforts to produce, in a material and energy-saving way, goods which are of a better quality and competitive in world markets and, by doing so, promote wide-spread growth. After this strategy had received the strong endorsement of the 11th SED Party Convention in April 1986, Politbureau member Guenter Mittag, who is responsible for economic affairs, reiterated in a 17 October speech⁷ at the Technical University in Dresden that the GDR leadership expects the installation of 80,000-90,000 CAD/CAM work stations by 1990 to result in a significant increase in GDR economic growth.⁸

The GDR can point to examples of the, in some instances, quite advanced application of CAD/CAM systems in GDR industry. Hence, in the Leipzig Lathe Company, all new technologies are being computerized for the first time this year. Because of this new technology, the time for processing orders there reportedly has been cut by some 30 percent over the past three years and productivity has risen by 150 percent. Process-controlled production of prismatic components, manufactured in 200 different variants and weighing between 2-125 kilograms, is considered to be the most important element of the Leipzig CAD/CAM system. In a fully automated production process, a transport robot lifts the pieces from an elevated storage shelf and returns them back, completely finished, from the processing machines.⁹

The machine tool industry, in particular, leads the installation of CAD/CAM systems.

The "Herbert Warnke" Metal-Forming Technology Combine in Erfurt, for instance, claims to have "created CAD/CAM solutions that can serve as an example for profiling product lines in the construction of machines, tools, robots and controls." Plans call for a change in these areas to "the general application of the CAD/CAM technology" by 1990.¹⁰

The main plant of the combine has been experimenting with CAD/CAM systems since 1981. At the present time, 142,000 so-called work project master cards are stored in the plant's internal information system which contains data on specific production processes and for which data can, so far, be retrieved from some 30 terminals.

Similar beginnings are also reported from such enterprises as the VEB Planeta in Radebeul, the VEB Heavy Machinery Construction "Heinrich Rau" at Wildau, the main plant of the VEB Machine Tool Combine "Fritz Heckert" and the VEB Robotron-Office Machinery Works at Soemmerda.¹¹ In machine tools and processing machinery alone, 900 new jobs are to be equipped with CAD/CAM technologies in order to cut the design period for new articles down to an average of less than two years. However, in technologically less developed industrial sectors of the GDR as well, e.g., in the glass, ceramics, cellulose, paper and packaging industry, some 220 CAD/CAM stations are expected to become operational in 1986 to make more efficient use of the newly installed 550 industrial robots.¹²

In the entire GDR industry, it was planned to install some 15,000 CAD/CAM stations by yearend 1986. That meant that the total number of these computer-supported design and production systems were three times higher than during the preceding year. In East Berlin alone, where important industrial and other research capabilities were installed over the past years in a concentrated form, there will be more than 3,000 such systems. Towards the end of the year, the number of installed CAD/CAM stations was significantly larger than originally planned.¹³

In this way, the planners try everything in their power to achieve radical cuts in the time required for the design of new product groups and production processes and, by doing so, improve the ability of enterprises to adapt to global markets.

Last October, in an interview with PRAVDA, Honecker estimated the current number of CAD/CAM work stations at more than 14,800.¹⁴ He indicated that--like the usual success stories on the utilization of industrial robots¹⁵--the expected number of CAD/CAM systems would surely be reached by yearend. As with the statistics on industrial robots, it would be important to know something about the quality of the CAD/CAM stations included in the statistics. True, a comparison of the number of industrial robots in the GDR with those in Western industrial countries shows that it is impressive. However, since the GDR, in counting its industrial robots, frequently includes devices the West would consider mere handling automatons, the results may be decidedly more modest.

Several references to the problems of setting up CAD/CAM systems in the GDR indicate that the situation in this sector is similar and that the published data are not very meaningful.

3. Advances in Flexible Automation

It is necessary to view the installation of flexible production systems in close connection with computer-aided design and manufacturing. For these machines it is typical to use automatic handling machines or industrial robots for linking several machine tools in such a way that the workpiece to be processed goes through several work processes without the involvement of manual work. A system is considered to be flexible if the computer-aided machine network, as a result of differing control instructions, is able to manufacture a variety of products of a given product group without the use of complex procedures to change the entire production system.¹⁶ This is the reason for the recent push in all advanced industrial countries for the utilization of flexible production systems because they permit fast and flexible reaction to changing demand conditions, even if the needed lot size of certain products is relatively small. With the help of computer-controlled instructions to effect changes and machines that can be used in a number of ways, the factories are in a position to change to the production of new or different articles without incurring skyrocketing production costs.

In the past few years, the GDR has gone all out to design and set up flexible manufacturing systems. These efforts are not being made out of the blue: in the GDR metal-working industry, the share of small and medium-lot production is close to 60-65 percent. Even the only partially successful attempts to produce larger lot sizes within the CEMA framework through increased competition and production specialization have failed to change that.

In addition, setting up flexible production systems has the extremely important benefit for the GDR that individual areas within a department can be automated on a step-by-step basis and in a supplemental way without requiring substantial investments for the establishment of large installations, which will not be economically efficient until after the entire installation has been completed.

The GDR claims to have currently about 80 installed flexible production systems, including 27 "large systems," most of which were built over the past two years.¹⁷ Such systems are primarily found in the machine tool industry, tool industry, farm

equipment and vehicle construction industry, in the production of electromotors and in the hydraulic industry.

In GDR literature, the following are listed as primary examples of the installation of flexible automated production segments:

- the production of direct-current chopper controls by VEB Electromotor Dresden-East,
- the production of hydraulic products by the headquarters plant and the VEB Hydraulic Rochlitz of the VEB Orsta-Hydraulic Leipzig Combine.
- the production of machine tool components by the headquarters plant and the VEB Machine Plant Meuselwitz of the VEB Machine Tool Combine "Fritz Heckert," Karl-Marx-Stadt, and the VEB Berlin Machine Tool Plant of the VEB Machine Tool Combine "7th of October" in Berlin,
- the production of gear cases for farm machines and commercial vehicles by the VEB Gear Case Brandenburg, as well as
- the production of harvester knife blades by the VEB Machine Tool Combine Schmalkalden¹⁸ and, finally,
- the manufacture of printing machine sidewalls by the VEB Planeta Radebeul.¹⁹

As a result, work productivity, among other things, reportedly increased by up to 600 percent, i.e., labor savings of up to 60 percent were achieved and a 60 percent shorter production time.²⁰

GDR Minister for Machine Tools and Processing Machines Rudi Georgi likes to point out that the first automated production system in the world, i.e., the "Prisma II" machine construction system of the "Fritz Heckler" Combine, was put into operation by the GDR as early as 1971.

In order to meet the growing demand for diversity and shorter product lives, the GDR has installed a number of flexible production systems in some important sectors, he said. This would make it possible to general shorten production times by 50-70 percent and processing times by 20-50 percent and to increase the utilization of the machines by 40-60 percent.²¹

Another example-setting innovation for the GDR industry is reported by the Machine Tool Plant Thum of the Heckert Combine. This factory supplies primarily high-capacity table drilling machines, which are indispensable basic equipment of many GDR machine exports. The Thum plant will serve as an example for the by-now highly publicized "way to the automated factory." Meanwhile, gear units of drilling machines are being manufactured there automatically by a high-speed computer-aided robot. To produce one gear, the robot requires one-fourth of the time it would take manual labor to do the job, i.e., it takes now 12.5 minutes.²²

Also, with a view to exporting, the GDR machine tool industry is now offering more and more frequently digitally controlled machine tools, processing centers, production cells, handling systems and automatic transport vehicles that can be linked to computer controls. In the metal-working industry alone, the GDR is

planning to have at least 60 complex--i.e., large--automated production segments operational by 1990.²³

In terms of numbers, this is indeed a remarkable goal. According to the UN Economic Commission for Europe (ECE), the number of complex flexible production systems currently in use continues to be low, even internationally, because of the high technical and financial costs associated with them.

While in 1985, Japan operated some 100 units, the United States operated more than 70. These estimates indicate that, at the turn of the 1984/85 year, the FRG had 25-35 units in operation, the USSR 60, the Netherlands 25 and France 17. The ECE estimated that about 350 flexible production system were in operation worldwide in 1984-85.²⁴

However, these automation successes in some GDR industrial sectors, though remarkable in themselves, should not lead to the immediate conclusion that the competitiveness of, e.g., the GDR machine industry, in world markets has improved. This is because successful rationalization in the respective companies face restrictions which seem to make it questionable whether the GDR, with the help of CAD/CAM systems and flexible automated production segments, will in fact be able to carry out the hoped-for economic breakthrough.

4. Economic and Technical Problems

The GDR pricing system continues to have considerable counterproductive effects, which do not adequately take account of the price relationships in global markets. Even export firms, which have been able to raise their productivity considerably with the assistance of CAD/CAM systems or flexible automated production segments lack guidance on the demand conditions in export markets as provided by the price system: they are able to manufacture products at a high level of productivity, but they know very little about what these products should be like in order to produce maximum foreign-exchange earnings in export markets.²⁵

Recent GDR publications as well demonstrate how difficult it has become there meanwhile to establish valid information on the profitability of exports on the basis of the existing price system. For instance, a 1986 scientific paper notes that export firms and combines should be required to demonstrate their profitability in terms of foreign-exchange earnings. This should be done in a way that would help prevent the possibility that the foreign-exchange costs of imported intermediate goods, which are required for the production of the finished product, exceed the foreign-exchange proceeds of the finished exports.

A requirement that the foreign-currency value (foreign-exchange costs) of raw materials and materials used in manufacturing export goods come from the GDR's own earnings and that they be included in cost and price calculations, is "not useful" because of the absence of comparable foreign-exchange prices for them, the paper maintains.²⁶

Such remarks lead to the conclusion that a large part of the productivity benefits provided by CAD/CAM systems and flexible automation is lost because the cost structures in world markets cannot sufficiently be taken into account.

In addition to these economic problems, there are numerous technical difficulties that strongly call in question the economic effectiveness of the new technology.

Problems already start with the production of the necessary electronic hardware. It may be remarkable that--as its leadership emphasizes over and over again--the GDR is one of the few industrial countries with an extensive production base for microelectronic products, from chips to the complete computer itself. However, it should be kept in mind that it was not until in the late 1970's that the GDR undertook rigorous efforts to develop this area and that this is why it continues to run behind other Western producer countries, including several newly developed countries in Asia. At any rate, the GDR economy, which would like to computerize, has been suffering for years from a lack of hardware. Only few plants have had the opportunity to use machines imported from the USSR. In the GDR itself, computer manufacturing, which after all will provide the main support, started after great delays.

Thus the mass production of personal computers (PC) by the Office Machine Plant at Soemmerda, the principal producer of PCs in the GDR, did not really get going until 1986. At first, it was a matter of producing computers of the 16-bit class; while the total number of PCs in the FRG should now be in excess of 600,000, Soemmerda has expanded its production of the new PC-175 to 21,000 in 1986. PCs of the 64-bit class--that is, of computers with considerably greater computing and storage capabilities--which have been around for years in the West, are not yet massproduced.

Many factories must accept long waiting periods until they get PCs that are manufactured in the GDR. Yet even if they are available in sufficient numbers, it cannot be assumed that the firm in question will enjoy higher economic growth. In many instances, computers supplied to the factories remain largely unused because the necessary software is lacking. There are no ready-made programs for use in specific industrial sectors. The director for organization and data processing of the East Berlin Top-Clothing Combine described the problems as follows, "In order to make the best possible use of our computer technology, we must have sufficient user programs of good quality. Currently, we are unable to develop software with the same speed as computers become available."²⁷ Here, it makes itself felt that the GDR does not have the vast number of small, medium-sized and large software producers who, in the West, are refining new computer programs with an almost inexhaustible imaginative initiative.

An expert of the VEB Planeta Radebeul addressed his readers with the urgent warning,

"We must not go into CAD/CAM systems until the basic software is available."²⁸

Most recently, there has been more criticism concerning parallel designing of software in the GDR. The firms are relatively independent in developing their own software, since, except in the machine tool industry²⁹, there is no central supplier for electronic data processing (EDP) programs who could meet the demand in the various sectors of the GDR economy. However, since the GDR--unlike the Western countries--does not have a functioning market for software, the GDR's centrally organized planned economy paradoxically is plagued by costly parallel development, especially in such important areas as software design.

Whether it will be possible to alleviate this shortcoming by establishing, as planned, so-called "software exchanges" and data banks for EDP programs, remains to be seen.

Now that the first complex computer systems have been installed in GDR industry, there remains the increasing burden of maintaining and repairing them. The responsible expert at the East Berlin Energy Combine calls hardware maintenance "a very complicated problem." He believes that, here, the combine will have to draw on its "own resources,"³⁰ adding that the question of how to get spareparts has not yet been resolved. The same problem of lacking spareparts seems to emerge for EDP hardware production and distribution--a problem that has been known for decades in other sectors of the GDR economy.

Despite coordination, there seem to be compatibility problems, especially coupling GDR-produced PCs and mainframe computers from the USSR, which are well known to exist in Western systems as well. The beforementioned responsible expert of the East Berlin Energy Combine complains, for instance, that, although it is possible with the help of PCs, to do projections "with high efficiency,"--for instance, cable networks for new construction areas"--the resulting data must be processed "by hand" for the central computer because the necessary coupling systems have not yet been developed.³¹

The underdeveloped supraregional telephone net also presents big problems on the way to computer-controlled production. Data banks and central computer units, which are to be linked to decentralized terminals and to each other, will continue to be usable only in isolation because the required line connections are missing. The GDR Post Office telephone network is not equipped to handle a comprehensive data transfer of the desired magnitude. Nevertheless, the situation will hopefully improve when the data net becomes more productive as a result of optical fiber transmission; but it will be years before GDR efforts to make significant advances in the area of optical fiber communication on the basis of its own resources will produce tangible results.

5. Internal Obstacles in Enterprises

GDR enterprises affected by these innovations also face serious problems when they introduce new technologies. These problems cast a different light on the officially fanned enthusiasm for microelectronics and CAD/CAM systems. For instance, reports from the Research Center for Machine Tools note that "in the metall-working industry of the GDR, ...almost 37 percent of all basic production workers are assembly-line workers. Only 3 percent of them are presently working in automated installations."³² However, a basic supply of automated components is needed to set up flexible manufacturing systems, which gradually can be coupled to establish an automatic production line.

Particularly problematic is the situation in heavy-industry combines. There, according to GDR experts, the level of automation continues to be way below the average for the entire metall-working industry. Similarly, the robot technology has also been restricted in its advances as a result of the industrial robots being frequently used ineffectively, so that they do not really improve the production process.

Thus the GDR labor union newspaper TRIBUENE has warned against excessive expectations with respect to the establishment of automated factories. "Existing solutions are geared almost exclusively to the production of individual components, i.e., to narrow areas. It will take several years before we have a continuous flexible CAD/CAM-based production flow. As a precondition, we must develop computers that are easier to operate."³³

An expert of Magdeburg Technical University has criticized with remarkable frankness the excessive euphoria regarding the installation of automated, computer-controlled manufacturing systems.³⁴ His criticism was so exact and, at the same time, sound that it deserves to be presented in greater detail. The author of the critical article, Prof E. Gottschalk of Magdeburg Technical University, pointed out that the goal the GDR economic planners are emphasizing, namely, that production equipment be used to its full capacity, has already lost much of its importance in international circles "because the pressures from international competition demand 'a high loyalty to deadlines.' That, in turn, depends on 'short product turnarounds and leads to a goal that is increasingly gaining in importance, namely, the preservation of material supplies."³⁵ To install continuous CAD/CAM systems, computer-aided control of the manufacturing process--i.e., the organizational basis--is of major importance. However, GDR investment and rationalization measures so far have focused on the purely technical aspects of production. Hence it comes as no surprise, he says, that an investigation by GDR enterprises of problems in integrated production segments led to the conclusion that only 23.29 percent were technical in nature, compared with 76.71 percent that were organizational. Thus, in most instances, purely technical rationalization measures undertaken by GDR enterprises as part of their CAD/CAM system installation often overlook existing problems, according to Gottschalk.

Particularly serious are the organizational difficulties in the area of materials savings. "If one considers the structures, number of employees and their qualifications as well as the technical equipment of the material preservation offices, one gets the feeling that operational rationalization has bypassed this important area."³⁶ In the analyzed GDR enterprises, 50.5 percent of all production orders in a monthly plan were started late and 2 percent incompletely "because the material for the projected deadline was not yet available."³⁷ Such deficits, the reason for which may be found in both the noncompliance with deadlines on the part of suppliers and in lapses by materials managers in their own plant, cannot be corrected by technical rationalization of the production process and they have a negative effect on the entire performance level.

The study believes that unstable technological production preparations lead in many cases to "external operative" interference which, in turn, has a very disorganizing effect on computer-aided systems. True, the minimization of turnaround time for products plays an important role as part of technological planning. However, since they rarely coincide with reality, turnaround times receive only "pro forma" attention, he continued. For instance, an examination of turnaround times in the GDR heavy machinery sector has shown that 80 percent of the total turnaround time for assembling was taken up by idle days before and after the work processes. Of these, 42 percent were idle times due to disruptions.

Gottschalk continues, "In walking through the workshops in machine construction, one is struck by the piles of materials in the workshop. What we need are control strategies based on real turnaround times."³⁸ In more than half of all cases, materials are supplied to the production departments too early--namely, as soon as it is available. This frequently stems from hopes that this would enable workers to better meet their deadlines. "In reality, these production orders obstruct the workshop."

Immense shortcomings are also in evidence in the automated production control area, which is absolutely essential for the introduction of CAD/CAM systems.

"Although the GDR has successfully utilized technical solutions for production control for over 10 years, the overall level in machine construction is inadequate."

Only 21 percent of the plants are equipped with the necessary production control devices."³

The researchers who worked on the study also found that, in one heavy-machinery construction plant, after special manual input points for the process computer had been established, for many months, 300 out of about 380 monthly submissions per shift "were intentionally or unintentionally wrong." The result was a two-track "handwritten" and "EDP-supported" organization."⁴

Equally devastating is the study's conclusion on deficiencies in overcoming disruptions. The ratio of the duration of a breakdown and the time it took to resolve the problem was 12:1; "for 12 hours, the machine is idle because it takes 11 hours to inform, sign off and diagnose in order to get help from the producer, ...and to hand over the machine or installation."⁵

6. Social Restrictions

Less than ever before is it now possible to achieve the desired productivity improvements by giving orders. Prof Dr Manfred von Ardenne, head of the GDR research institute by that name, who is also highly respected in the West, stated at the meeting of the People's Chamber last June, "An authoritarian management style is a matter of the past. . .Cooperating managers, whose minds are not closed and who want to address problems with great frankness as well as constructive criticism, are the ones who push things forward. "Pussyfooters," who only think of themselves and never rub anybody the wrong way, may be convenient but not very helpful in establishing a creative atmosphere."⁶

Whether he is going to find an open ear among the leadership remains more than questionable in light of the continuing restrictions on opportunities the individual has in the GDR to inform himself and express his views. It does not require much imagination to understand that the general realization of Ardenne's demand would collide in many ways with the basic structures of the GDR power system. Nevertheless, under pressure from its interest in rationalization, the GDR leadership is now permitting a cautious opening for objectively controlled criticism in the production area, provided that criticism does not go beyond that framework. There have been indications to that effect in recent times.

Technical journals and daily newspapers in the GDR have also published critical views in the recent past, which address the problems associated with the introduction of new technologies. For instance, in early November 1986, the BERLINER ZEITUNG in East Berlin started to publish a series, in which representatives of various plants made relatively open comments on these problems. The technical journal FERTIGUNGSTECHNIK UND BETRIEB [Manufacturing Technology and Enterprise] called back in December 1985 on their readers to express their critical views on problems resulting from the introduction of the CAD/CAM technology."⁷

Closer examination revealed that the repeated leadership appeals to the company cadres to enter into an open dialogue with their employees about the introduction of new technologies, instead of simply cutting off any critical remarks in line with bureaucratic behavior, have a serious background and should not be viewed as pure propaganda. They did so because to a large number of employees in plants

and combines, microelectronics, CAD/CAM and flexible automation have not meant improved, but inferior work conditions.

In order to evoke and maintain the necessary willingness of the employees to establish and utilize the new technologies, it must be "ensured that, at least in the long run, work rationalization goes hand in hand with improved working conditions."⁴⁴ Hence they admit that a deterioration of working conditions for a certain number of employees is expected in the short and medium term.

In order to utilize the scarce technologies as much as possible, attempts have been made for several years to increase shift work, although that can hardly be reconciled with the traditional ideas of the humanization of working conditions under socialism. Employees working in shifts complain--for instance, those in the small mechanical products division of the Berlin Machine Tool Plant at Marzahn--that the kitchen is closed in the evening and does not keep hot food for them.⁴⁵ Others are unhappy about funds being invested for automation, while the new technology--such as in the Bookbinding Machinery VEB in Leipzig--is housed in completely antiquated buildings, whose bad condition has a negative impact on both their work climate and work enjoyment.⁴⁶

The labor union newspaper TRIBUENE felt it was necessary to state, "...in some places, our labor union functionaries (must) pursue their role as representatives of worker interests with more perseverance and consistency."⁴⁷

There is evidence that in some plants the entire workforce strongly resists the notion of doing more shiftwork. The party secretary of the Berlin Rubber Works complained, "...that there is an inadequate supply of computer-aided jobs in the construction industry and that no use has been made of the opportunity to improve the unfavorable relationship through shiftwork."⁴⁸

In view of the fact that the already quite high share of production workers working two and three shifts had risen to nearly 37 percent by 1985, this resistance is not surprising.⁴⁹

Nevertheless, from the point of view of labor law, plant managers have plenty of opportunities to introduce shiftwork in the modernized parts of their plants, even against the will of their workers. Since, normally, worktime regulation is not part of the work contract between an employee and his company, contracts do not need to be modified when shiftwork is introduced. In accordance with the letter of the law, relevant worktime changes require only one-week advance notification. Neither may older employees refuse to do shiftwork merely for age reasons.⁵⁰

However, there are many reasons why management shies away from implementing shiftwork through legitimized brute force. Hence the workers have to accept a certain deterioration in their work conditions; but they do not have to be afraid of losing their jobs as it might happen under capitalism in similar conflict situations. The mere fact that, as part of the introduction of new technologies, each individual employee has a growing responsibility for the effective utilization of technology, a bad work climate could seriously jeopardize the planned increase in productivity. It is against this background that the comment of an expert in the VEB Printing Machine Construction Plant Planeta in Radebeul must be understood. He stated that the creation of a good work atmosphere is absolutely

essential for the introduction of the new technology, because it is the only way to get employees in these areas to work multiple shifts."⁵¹

In the "John Schehr" Machine Works at Meuselwitz, an enterprise where a very advanced system of flexibly automated manufacturing technology has been installed, the employees had to accept, in 1985, the so-called "rolling week," a continuous three-shift system. The party organ NEUES DEUTSCHLAND cites a case which is obviously designed to cheer up the workers, i.e., the case of systems operator Koerner. In the beginning, he was "not particularly keen" on shiftwork, the paper notes. But now he is convinced of its benefits. Shiftwork means more uninterrupted leisure time (presumably as a result of intermittent free days). With shiftwork, there are five additional days of annual leave, and monthly wages are "about M200-300" higher. During every shift, hot meals and careful medical care are available. And above all, introduction of automation in the GDR, unlike under capitalism, does not mean unemployment.⁵²

In other major plants, which are also being automated, work follows a continuous three-shift rhythm, as, for instance, in the Leipzig Lathing Works and the IFA Gear VEB in Brandenburg. In those instances, pressure to achieve the highest possible utilization of the new expensive manufacturing facilities is oftentimes so great that the workers see themselves confronted by problems, which they--who are used to rather unhurried work rhythm of GDR production--would have identified in earlier days with capitalist work methods. For instance, an engineer in the Heavy Machinery Construction Combine "Hans Thaelmann" (SKET), Magdeburg, said about the use of key technologies, "Short deadlines often make it necessary to put family and personal interests on the backburner." This is normal for people who do creative work, he said. It is a matter of productive worries "which have nothing to do with the worries those people often face, who with their knowledge and capabilities are getting burnt out by the hectic pace of the capitalist competitive struggle and even the rearmament boom."⁵³

The frequency, with which the GDR media have ventilated these aspects for quite some time, demonstrates that the introduction of the new technologies has provoked discussions and questions among the workers which touch on fundamental elements of how the socialists see themselves in terms of how their work conditions are organized. Thus, in many areas, the new technology leads to a regrouping of the workforce and to differentiation processes that are hard to reconcile with maintaining the work collectives which were strongly propagandized in the past and have found large worker acceptance. "I see the danger that human contacts, the social existence of people and their caring for one another will suffer if we look at computers as being omnipotent and almost ghost-like," a TRIBUENE reader notes cautiously. "Clearly, groups are getting smaller. But then it makes it so much easier for people to work together and to understand one another."⁵⁴ These phenomena, which are associated with the introduction of automation systems in factories, are well-known in Western countries. However, it will be difficult for the GDR to accept that these tendencies, which run counter to the concept of work collectives, exist not only under capitalism.

SED chief ideologist Kurt Hager also fears that the new technologies may endanger the collective conscience of the GDR laborforce. According to an assessment he presented to a conference at Humboldt University in East Berlin on 24 October 1986, the introduction of new technologies in selected sectors of the GDR economy could lead social groups within the masses of workers to increasingly drift apart, "But since the most advanced and the traditional technological conditions exist

alongside each other, differentiation in the working class, which depends on the mobility of the means of production, will rise in the long term."⁵⁵ Whether the political leaders and top labor union functionaries in the GDR will permit such a development, remains to be seen. It might have consequences for the political awareness of the GDR population which its leaders do not welcome.

To keep the workers in line, conflicts of interest arising between the work collectives and individual workers, who are affected in different ways by the introduction of new technologies, must not be settled entirely by management orders.

"It does not suffice to point out that, under the social concept of property, nobody is going to lose his job when a new technology is introduced."⁵⁶ The workers should be persuaded in discussions of the need for the new technologies, and avoidable work problems should be minimized. "Only those who are informed, are able to follow our train of thought." This view is gaining more and more acceptance among managers involved in the introduction of new technologies in plants, and lately has been expressed more frequently and more openly.

7. Where is this Development Headed for?

Under pressure to increase its technological productivity, the GDR leadership has initiated a development whose economic, technological and social implications are hard for them to understand. It remains to be seen whether they will succeed in expanding and utilizing the technical advances, which some model plants have undoubtedly achieved, in a way that would provide the urgently needed spark for increased productivity throughout the economy. The technological competition in world markets has grown so much that, at least in the foreseeable future, the GDR export position cannot be expected to improve significantly because the restrictions, outlined above, continue to act as excessive barriers.

The benefits the GDR could reap from the introduction of new manufacturing technologies will also depend on whether the GDR leaders will be able to carry out the hoped-for changes in working conditions and instil creative attitudes in the plants over the coming years, without contradicting, in a too-obvious way, the basic elements of the system that they themselves represent. We cannot expect that this contradiction can be resolved by making the system much more open, at least not under Honecker.

FOOTNOTES

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PROMOTION OF TOURISM PLANNED

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 27 May 87 p 1

[Editorial: "Even in Tourism We Can Do Better"]

[Excerpt] Last Wednesday the Presidium of the CPCZ Central Committee discussed the report on foreign tourism in our country, its tasks for the Eighth 5-Year Plan and its outlooks up to the year 2000. It took note of the measures by the CSSR government aimed at the construction of more new accommodations, improvement of services, and opportunities for joint ventures in tourism with foreign partners. Furthermore, these measures are intended to improve the promotion of the CSSR abroad and to resolve in a more flexible way various problems related to visas, foreign exchange, etc. The Presidium of the CPCZ Central Committee supports the plan for the drafting of an outline for the development of the material-technical tourist base up to the year 2000.

Despite certain indisputably successful achievements, the Presidium of the CPCZ Central Committee and the CSSR government made a critical assessment of the results of Czechoslovak foreign tourism thus far. Above all, they acknowledged that its development was lagging considerably behind our society's needs and possibilities, that the social function of tourism has never been fully recognized, that its administration lacked uniformity, and that in many locations needless red tape was very much in evidence.

Measures adopted by the federal government provided the groundwork for the further development of dynamic foreign tourism. Their schedule is divided into two stages. Before 1990, the plan calls for steps which do not entail major material inputs. For the 1991-2000 period the proposal calls for a plan for a material-technical base and for an expansion and comprehensive improvement of services. The fulfillment of these priority tasks will enhance the status of foreign tourism as a specific branch of our national economy.

That is the projection; however, a new tourist season is upon us and much needs to be improved expeditiously everywhere.

For instance, it is well known that Prague has always been the focus of great interest; almost every visitor in the CSSR wishes to see our capital city. After the destruction of Rotterdam and Nurnberg, Prague is the only major European city with a well preserved gothic and baroque center which is a

unique jewel of architecture. Another advantage is that such beautiful spots in the country as Karlstejn, Krvoklat, Koneprusy, Slapy, Orlik, Konopiste, the Sazava River valley, Kokorin, Melnik, and others are easily accessible from Prague.

One of the main drawbacks to a rapid development of international tourism in Prague, however, is the shortage of accommodations, not only in hotels. The opportunities which our capital city has outside hotels--in the form of contractual private accommodations--should be exploited to greater advantage. The Cedok and Prague travel bureaus have only 1,763 beds available in Prague, although potential facilities are considerably greater.

Another major asset that may be instantly mobilized in order to earn more hard currency from dynamic tourism in Prague is consistent compliance with the decision of the CSR government of 1978, which ordered ministries and main central agencies to organize mass programs of a statewide (and also international) character primarily outside the capital city of Prague; nevertheless, thus far this decision has not been widely observed.

In addition, Prague has ample capacities for accommodation in dormitories of more than 20 civilian branches, especially those of the ministries of education, construction, machine engineering, and others. Their dormitories include a total of 68,374 beds, or seven times more than the conventional tourist facilities. College dormitories have 25,000 beds and organizations of the Ministry of Construction more than 18,000 beds in their so-called builders' hostels. Nevertheless, these capacities serve tourism only very sporadically, even during the vacation and holiday seasons, when many forms are partly vacant. Tourism finds here lack of interest, unwillingness and excessive administrative and technical problems.

Services and their quality are extremely important for tourism. Much has been improved in recent years, although thus far no fundamental changes have been made. The extent, offer, quality and fulfillment of services do not correspond with the growing demands of our citizens and foreign visitors. For example, it is a problem to lunch or dine in public restaurants in Prague any Saturday or Sunday because there are no places where to exchange currency, not to speak about gift and souvenir shops and stores with glassware or costume jewelry open to tourists.

Another untapped asset for our tourist industry concerns substantial extension of personal incentives for employees of service organizations, particularly economic franchises of small dining establishments or manufacture and sales of gift items and souvenirs. After all, the experience of the GDR and to some extent, also of the Hungarian People's Republic has shown that local organizations of our state administration have full authority to launch such ventures in agreement with the interests and needs of our socialist society. This method calls for fundamental changes in the quality of services and for expanded opportunities in establishments which are facing the greatest problems with services, hygiene and work time.

We must change the attitude to tourism--in terms of economy and policy. Tourism may become an important branch of the CSSR's national economy. It is also important for the prestige of our state.

Some areas demand more drastic solutions--for example, the training of employees, their professional and linguistic skills, substantial improvement of the railroad, autobus and air transportation, construction of new hotels, and so on. However, much can be done immediately, including unpretentious, attentive treatment of our guests, essential consideration in dealing with them, no matter who they are, starting at the border checkpoints up to the service in restaurants, honesty and other attitudes that are so indispensable for tourism. Employees serving foreign tourists are the first whom the foreigners meet and often they are very important representatives of our society. From the moment the foreign visitors cross our borders they should feel that they are guests in an advanced country that is highly cultured and very hospitable. All who have any contact with our foreign visitors should help achieve this goal.

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LANGUAGE, SETTING OF NOVEL FOUND OBJECTIONABLE

Bucharest SAPTAMINA in Romanian No 23, 5 Jun 87 p 3

[Article by Corneliu Vadim Tudor: "The Mean Face of Life"]

[Text] There are many kinds of literature, and possibly even more ways of writing. Some writers listen to music, others write standing up at a pulpit, and still others rack their brains while they are horizontal. A great number clutch a cigarette as a rescuing crutch, and even more drink. Diderot wrote while standing. Truman Capote wrote while lying down, going in succession through some five kinds of drinks, from gin to whisky. Reboreanu drank about 30 cups of coffee a day, and Edgar Allan Poe found nepenthe in just as many varieties of distilled liquor. Other examples could be given. They are intriguing details from a literary almanac and, of course, have nothing whatever to do with the intrinsic value of literary work. There is another way of writing literature, a somewhat more unusual one: with the lights out and the blinds drawn, while drinking waythorn tea. This "atrocious" style, committed to paper by an author who tries to get even with everyone and everything, has been patented in its modern version by Petre Anghel. He is a prolific author, having written seven or eight novels, if I am not mistaken, and volumes of poetry. Several years ago he delighted us with the novel Dincolo de iubire [Beyond Love]. In it, you will remember, drama succeeds drama. A young man goes into the army, is struck in the head by a drunken old woman, and rises as a result of his obvious talents to become editor of a provincial newspaper, after which he visits Paris, falling head over heels with his patron's wife, who does not even notice him. An occasion for moral retaliation, of course, but also for profound reflections on Napoleon, Topirceanu, Aznavour, and Scipio Africanus.

Probably irritated by the lack of response to his previous book, Petre Anghel turned out another novel, also published by Cartea Romaneasca, one in which he of course plumbed the abyssal depths of the meanness of life. There are naturally a goodly number of ways of being malicious in art. Gide wrote that d'Annunzio was "little, vulgar, and ate ice." Leconte de Lisle flayed Victor Hugo with the opinion that Hugo was "common, common as the Himalayas," and Calinescu saw in Bacovia nothing more than dishevelled naked women scraping at violins in drawing rooms. I wonder whether such caustic gems do not add to the fame of those at whom the barbs were aimed and yet do not take away anything from the lustre of those who satirized them. They are "kind words" for neighbors in the same pantheon. But what are we to say of gratuitous

malice? What use is a hybrid bee that does nothing but sting and produces no honey? The novel *Mostenitorul* [The Heir] holds the absolute record thus far in Romanian literature from the viewpoint of moral decay. Specifically what happens in this book? A former notorious bandit, Titi Colan, who was sent to prison for profiteering immediately after the Second World War, comes back to the town of his birth, Valeni, with the express desire of becoming an idol, a hero, the cock of the walk. In this town he has a palatial home which he has inherited (or bought?) from a well-to-do peasant who has died in the meantime. Coming up with a large sum of money and spreading bribes around, this individual begins to restore the house, with the assistance of local officials. But the man also has his tender side, being somewhat too much in love with the mother of the current director of the IGO, who, being self-centered, pays no attention to him. There are also a magistrate with a harpy of a wife, an alcoholic school principal, a young history teacher (probably a self-portrait), a schizophrenic who sleeps in trees and acts like all such persons, a Bucharest sculptor who has been commissioned to create a monument to the martyrs of 1907, and many other peripheral figures. The principal character gives a housewarming attended by all the notables of the town. Here is a sequence relating to the party in question, which took place on one of the dog days of summer: "Even though only little time remained until sundown, the heat was still stifling" (page 164). A few pages later, we are told, however, that a movie actress who was sleeping with the sculptor "left her silver fox fur jacket on the table" (page 176). Now judge for yourself whether it is normal for a woman (even a movie actress) to show up on one of the dog days of summer wearing a luxurious fur coat. But this is due, I think, to the snobbishness of the author. Would that it were the author's only failing!

Another sequence features the head accountant of the IGO, who shows ill breeding by getting disgustingly drunk. "He took a glass of wine from a passing servant and emptied it in one gulp, then went up to the actress and asked her to dance. After only a few steps, he stumbled against the root of a willow hidden in the sand on the bank and fell down, getting sand in his hair. He rolled over several times, then got up on all fours and crawled into the Danube. 'He's drowning, He's drowning,' the actress shrieked laughingly, but after washing his face with water mixed with swampy water, Dulama walked out of the water bolt upright, his face unrecognizable" (pages 193-194). It would have been natural for the director to have dressed him down for such degrading behavior, or even to have fired him the next day, but--you guessed it--the director had something else on his mind: "Should I or shouldn't I sacrifice mother to his thirst for aggrandizement?" (page 127). Megalomania ultimately won out over filial sentiment; this venerable, devout woman was taken by force to the party. But when she was left alone in a room with Titi Colan, she died (probably of shame or a broken heart). Events speed up after this poor woman's sudden death, the most notable being the rumor of the magistrate's destitution. In the view of our strange author, here is how the foremost citizen of this town reacts to this rumor, which ultimately proves to be false. The confession takes place in the presence of a father confessor who is none other than the town hall janitor. "Let them go to the Council and set the dogs on me. Let them shut the door in my face so I won't make trouble for them; let them grab me by the throat. I haven't been a bad man, Vasilica. I've let you people live your lives, and I've closed my eyes to your doings. Now you lock me here in this room and abandon me like a dog, and they will leave me here to rot and kill rats with my bare hands... You see how it is,

Vasile? You raise a dog and it tears out your throat. That's how it's been with Ionita. I reared him, and now he shoves me aside. He didn't have decent clothes to his name when he came to Valeni. He studied for 3 months and could barely sign his name. I took pity on him. Is this a man to make the chief magistrate? ... He even tells her (his own wife--CVT), he said to the astonishment of the janitor, how he has found out so much, so that we can't take a step without her finding out about it. We'll see how she likes it when I stick by her from morning to night, until she gets sick of seeing me. I'll pester the devil out of her, then I'll go away to the back of beyond and never set foot in Valeni again; my days here have been torture" (pages 278-279).

Petre Anghel must have a catastrophic opinion of the magistrates of our towns if he imagines that such a man secluded himself in 1976, when the action takes places, in a janitor's lodge, drank, and pour out his grievances, below the last step of human lowness. The most astounding thing is that this man was to stay in his position and become increasingly useful to society and more and more respected and loved!

The story ends with the suicide by hanging of the despicable Titi Colan (a tragic event presaged by entry of the deranged man into a family vault on horseback) and with nationalization of his mansion. Hence nothing else takes place on the epic plane in this novel: fates of upstarts struggling under their compulsions and a good-and-evil struggle between the old mindset of some and the new outlook of others, some flashes of glory, a cheap web of intrigues and barroom gossip, and an atavistic burden on the conscience of every character. The characters of this monstrous collection of fauna have, we must say, affected names sought in dark and dusty corners: Costica al lui Ilie Zimbau [Ilie Zimbau's son Costica], Gogu Tupangiu, Jean al lui Pupaza, Dochita Mutul lui Perisoreanu, Rosca Ologul, plutonierul Mina Scurta [Corporal Armshort], Zambila the Fiddler, Father Usurelu, Spinu, Maria lui Gheorghe Surupatu, Coadalata [Broadtail] the accordion player, Fudulu, Toana, Magaon, Sande Moromint, Soriciu, Bolovan, Sborcea, Lila Boboc, and so forth. Is the roll of Romanian names so short that it must be reduced to a mocking list of surnames legitimized by the passage of time? What is involved here is something entirely different, a complete separation from real life in a Romanian village (after all, the town of Valeni does preserve strong reminders of its rural past). The author mixes in dyes in a search for local color, but he does it awkwardly and stridently, like something strained.

And how do the characters of Petre Anghel speak? Also in native accents, naturally, as in the good (actually bad) tradition of a certain kind of prose. First of all, everyone, absolutely everyone (with the author in the lead) curses and swears, invoking the devil's name. I have said it countless times before and I repeat it: We are not upset by violent language; sometimes it is part of real life and cannot be done away with or adjusted. But it is an elementary requirement that it be functional and be presented in an artistic setting; otherwise we are not dealing with literature. Unfortunately, the novel *Mostenitorul* is the most "bedeviled" novel I have ever read. The miserable character who was presented with art in the Bible (he took the form of a serpent and politely offered a beautiful apple to a distinguished lady) is brought on stage hundreds of times by Petre Anghel, this creating the impression that he is the main character in the book.

Here are a few examples, which say much about the author's lack of restraint in speech and about the irritatingly poor way in which he develops his characters. "Take your Ologul and go to the devil" (page 17); "gold is the eye of the devil" (page 19); "Mosca Ologul would have worked like the devil to get what he wanted" (page 20); "Who the devil is that up there at the top?" (page 34); "It was given to the Devil... (page 57); "You, the devil, you have always been on my side" and "he's nothing but a little devil" (page 61), and so on and on and on, on almost every page. An individual who answers to the popular name of Devil appears twice, three times, even four times on a single page. We have a complete pandemonium here, a turbulent throng of devils incarnate having a row in the mouth of everyone, whether magistrate, director, or teacher, young or old, man or woman. What a stupid cliche, what painfully poor knowledge of the Romanian language and of human psychology! When we add to all this the volleys of oaths, just as numerous as the invocation of the Devil's name, we have a picture of a literature in which the characters are simply unable to express themselves in normal language. I believe that the gang of rogues and vagabonds who settled in the ruins of Curtea Veche some 2 centuries ago were the models of Petre Anghel's "intellectuals," just as the neoplatonic academy of Florence was the model for the dregs of the Fanar district of Istanbul.

An incessant quarrel characterizes every entry of characters on stage. These are characters into the midst of which a number of unusual creatures slip: a dimwitted woman named Maria (page 45); 10 to 15 libertines, noteworthy among whom for her remarkable talents is "a lame woman, Maria Iron Hip" (page 50); Mimi, a cashier at Agrosem [Complex for Utilization of Vegetable Seeds and Fruit Tree Planting Stock], who is characterized by a pickpocket as follows: "You with no good hips, you're not complete, there's nothing for me to embrace!" (page 167). Fine people; no doubt about it. Somewhere or other it is insinuated that there may have been incestuous relations between Titi Colan and his sister, this reminding us of Sartre's "Recluse of Altona," except that the latter was a drama with all the power of the word, while in the present case it is one more abasement. Everybody hates Titi Colan, but are drawn to him as if by a magnet. With this character the author apparently wanted to create a local replica of the famous don Juan de Marana, whose epitaph at the almshouse in Seville reads "here lies the most wicked of men who ever lived." However, our inept novelist makes the wretched Colan even likable in comparison to the sharks around him.

The lack of memory which may even be an advantage in other writers, because it helps them be always fresh, becomes a source of involuntary comedy in Petre Anghel. The author does not know his own characters, precisely for which reason we must ask him to tell us which is the real Titi Colan, the one on page 30 or the one on page 64? In one place he is "short and stocky, with short, stumpy legs," but after a number of pages he grows somewhat, being "a man like any other, neither short, nor fat, nor thin." The author reserves a cruel, or at any rate uncertain, fate for a newborn child, which at one time is a girl and at another a boy: "The baptism of Titi Colan's niece..." (page 158), and a page later there is talk of "the boy who is to be baptized." The action of the novel takes place in 1976, but at one point we are told of an older episode in the life of the sculptor "at the end of the 1970s" (page 174), and, of course, the end of this decade is 1979 to 1980. The writer also forgets about an important event. First we learn that "Marius Stoicescu had been magistrate for about 2 years" (page 78), but by the middle of the book we

are told that "exactly 6 years had passed since his appointment" (page 276), even though the action had proceeded chronologically only a few months.

From these errors, which we will charitably call innocent ones, we go on to others of historic proportions, because, as we know from earlier books by this author, astonishment is the mother of wisdom. The principal of the local school says over a glass to the history teacher, "Didn't Kogalniceanu say when Cuza ascended to the throne that we have new men for new times? I remember the year exactly—it was 1864—but I still get the words all confused" (page 334). As a matter of fact, the words were confused (the actual phrase is "a new man for new laws"), but what are we to say when we find that the "exact" year was wrong. Cuza's ascension to the throne consecrated the union of the principalities, a cardinal event in the history of the country; shouldn't a school principal (and implicitly a writer of novels) know that this crucial year was 1859? To make sure that the author is correctly and fully informed, we will say that the memorable words were pronounced on 5 January 1859, on the occasion of election of Cuza as ruler of Moldavia. This same garrulous school principal continues to parade his learning: "Have I taught students that Dacians became friendly with the Romans in 106 AD, that Neagoe broke with Carol Robert of Anjou in 1394, and the Stefan the Great concluded a treaty with the Turks shortly before his unhappy death in 1504?" Indeed he has not taught them, because who knows what other confusion might have emerged. We are faced here with a massive collection of errors. The Dacians could not have become "friendly with the Romans in 106" for the simple reason that the 2nd Dacian War had just ended and Roman colonization of the province had begun. The "friendship" about which the author writes in any event antedated the great war (the compromise peace of 89 and the peace under very difficult conditions for Decebal in 102). What are we to say of Neagoe and Carol Robert of Anjou? They never met on the same stage in history, except in the book by Petre Anghel. The Hungarian king Trufas was dead in 1342, and Neagoe left this life in 1521—they are separated by almost 2 centuries. The author knew something by hearsay, as usual. A Bessarabian had gone to war with Carol Robert, but it was not Neagoe Basarab [Neagoe the Bessarabian]; it was Basarab I Intemeitorul [Basarab the First, the Founder], and the battle (fought at Posada) did not take place in 1394 (when both princes had long been dead) but in 1330. As for the treaty concluded with the Turks by Stefan the Great "shortly before his unhappy death in 1504," we can note that any history textbook would have informed this novelist that the treaty in question (the Ahdname) between Stefan the Great and Mahomed the Second was concluded in 1489, that is, 15 years before the death of this heroic ruler. In another place mention is made of an old man who "presented arms to King Carol after the Battle of Plevna" (page 227). At that time in history, autumn of 1877, Carol was not king but prince.

Folklore ingredients are mixed helter skelter in with reflections on art, society, and history. Poor mastery of the Romanian language, as when the author uses the word "suspenders" to refer to the "suspension" of a vehicle, making himself ridiculous, rounds out the picture of this total failure. Moreover, it would be necessary to reproduce virtually the entire book to give an idea of the instances of jarring cacophony.

What we have here, then, is a misanthropic novel inspired by essential malice which could have resulted in a Swiftian roman a clef--it would have to be Swiftian in order to succeed--but the work is a flimsy production simply because the writer does not have the equipment to do the job.

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